



**SHAH WALIULLAH'S CONTRIBUTION
TO
HADITH LITERATURE
A CRITICAL STUDY**

**ABSTRACT
THESIS**

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ABSTRACT

The present work seeks to investigate and study critically the contribution of Shah Waliullah *Muhaddith* Dihlawi to Hadith literature. Shah Waliullah bin 'Abdur Rahim al-'Umari al-Dihlawi (1114H.-1176H./1703-1762) was lived in the eighteenth century C.E., an age of down fall of Muslim power, political dissettlement, social degeneration and educational backwardness and indigence.

Shah Waliullah Dihlawi was an unparalleled Islamic scholar, thinker and reformer in Indian sub-continent. He spent the whole of his life in the service of religion and education and worked for the interest of Muslim-society. His sole anxiety all the time had been to see the Muslims powerful, strong and ruling based upon the Islamic system. He tried all his best to restore the Muslims' power and reform the society and revive the pure religion and establish an accurate and complete Islamic educational system.¹

Shah Waliullah completed his education under his father Shaikh 'Abdur Rahim (d.1131H./1718) and other scholars in India and served as the teacher in *Rahimiyah Madrasah* which was established by his father in Delhi for twelve years. During this long teaching period he studied deep and widely and taught the students different religious and rational subjects, so he got the opportunity to reflect over a variety of issues. After studying the *fiqh* and *usul* of four *mazhabs* and *Hadiths* from which they deduced those *fiqh* and *usul* and by the divine help his heart became satisfied with the method of jurists who depend on *Hadith (Fuqaha Muhaddithin)*.²

¹ - For details see chapter I, section I, II, III, pp 1-28 of this thesis

² - Shah Waliullah, *Al-Juz al-Latif*, Matba Ahmadi, Delhi, n d p 27 For details see chapter II, section II, pp 37-41, section III, p 47 of this thesis

Then he went to *Hijaz* for performing *Hajj* and obtaining higher education in *Hadith* and *fiqh* and studied under renowned scholars of different *mazhabs* of Makka and Madina with clear heart, attentive mentality and liberal attitude. This made him generous, broad minded, tolerable and respectable to every *Sunni mazhab* and prepared himself for accepting the opinion of every *mazhab* if it was supported by the sound *Hadith*.¹ He tried his best to remove the disagreement among the *mazhabs* and conciliate among them according to the sound *Hadith* and called the nation to leave the conventional rigidity and become nearer to each other.

Shah Waliullah's *'aqida* was the *'aqida* of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal- Jama'ah* and especially that of earlier *Ash'arites* who were according to his opinion very nearer to Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal (d.241H./855) in this matter. Shah Waliullah was not pleased with the latest hair-splitter and interpreter *Ash'arites*. Shah Waliullah has declared openly his disconnection from any kind of wrong *'aqida* and disassociation from every opinion which emerged in contradiction of the Quran and *Sunnah* and the consensus of earlier pious and *mujtahidin* of Muslim *Ummah*.²

He was against all sects which are not following the Quran and *Sunnah* directly in the field of *'aqida* and taking stand against *Ahl al-Sunnah wal- Jama'ah*. Shah Waliullah's opinion and arguments are very clear in this matter.³

As for *Tasawuf* Shah Waliullah was a reformist *Sufi* inclining to Naqshbandi order and paying glowing tribute to Junaid al-Baghdadi (d.297H./910) and his order. Shah Waliullah has identified the *Tasawuf* and *suluk* and their knowledge with *ihsan*⁴ and according to him the target of *suluk* is to

¹ - For details see chapter II, section II, pp 41-46 and chapter III, section IV, pp 137-57 of this thesis

² - For details see chapter III, section I, pp 88- 100

³ - For details see chapter III, section II, pp 101- 109

⁴ -Ihsan see chapter III, section III, p 110

attain the *ihsan*. The Shah has ascribed himself to almost famous *sufi*- orders then he adopted his own order and system, and declared that he was the leader of them in his age. According to his opinion the union of all essences (*wahdat al-wujud*) is with universal soul (*nafs kulliyya*) not with the Essence of Allah. He tried his best to remove the disagreement among the *sufi*-doctrines and conciliate among the *Sufis*. For this purpose he said that the difference between *wahdat al-wujud* and *wahdat al-shuhud* was merely literal not fundamental.¹

Shah Waliullah was a versatile genius and was respected and accepted by almost Muslims for his unusual intelligence, distinguished merit and true religious mind. He was a prolific and voluminous writer. As a great scholar, world- renowned thinker, famous reformer, profound theologian, unparalleled *muhaddith*, high-ranked *faqih*, farsighted historian and biographer as well as reformist *sufi* has covered the almost range of Islamic sciences and Muslims' life in his works in Arabic and Persian language.² The dimension of his life and works was spread over all spheres – religion, ethics, politics, judiciary, social reform, public administration, economics, Islamic education like - *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, Theology, *Fiqh*, *Tasawuf*, history, biography, social science etc. which contributed to flow and growth of history. His imposing presence in all such fields was characteristically distinguished him from other personalities. The chequered life of the Shah which covered all sides of life and education is unique in the history of Muslims renaissance of the sub-continent.

He was especially recognized as *Muhaddith* and wrote many books on *Hadith* and subjects relating to it as well as he included some valuable articles on this matter in his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*.³

¹ - For details see chapter III, section III, pp 110- 131 of this thesis

² - For details of his works see chapter II, section V, pp 63-87

³ - See chapter II, section V, pp 66-70

The study of *Hadith* was available in Indian sub-continent from the very beginning of Muslim expeditions to this territory and many scholars of *Hadith* arrived in India from other countries and many scholars went to another Muslim countries from India and many centres of the study of *Hadith* had been established in different parts of India. Many works on *Hadith* also had been done by many *Hadith*-scholars. But they could neither establish a complete system, nor adopt time-befitting method and syllabus for *Hadith* study. So their teaching was unsystematical, partial, incomplete and scattered and many times influenced by conventional rigidity.¹

Shah Waliullah did a revolutionary change in the study of *Hadith*. He introduced excellent method, syllabus and system of teaching of *Hadith*. He took initiative to train the teachers, and run the institution on good discipline, well plan and programme. His teaching of *Hadith* distinguished by deep thought, completeness and including all mother books of *Hadith* and its science in the syllabus. He adopted the policy of non-conventionalism and non-rigidity in his teaching. His method of study of *Hadith* was to study it as *Hadith* with broad-mind and patience and to prefer one to another according to its soundness and strongness aparting from supporting any particular *mazhab*, and respecting all *Sunni mazhabs* and scholars. In his teachings and writings he used all kinds of references of all *mazhabs* and acquainted the students and readers of Indian sub-continent with them and tried to make their mind broad and their eyes farsighted. He took the study of *Hadith* out of the prevailing classical system and made it dynamic, vital and active.²

Shah Waliullah's endeavour to propagate *Hadith* through revival of its teaching and writing monumental works on the subject, set afoot the process of Islamic revival in the Indian sub-continent or rather in the whole Islamic world during the present era (which begins by the middle of the twelfth

¹ - For details see chapter IV, section I, II, III, pp 158-190 of this thesis

² - For details see chapter II, section III, pp 47- 53, and chapter IV, section IV, pp 191- 193

century of *Hijra* and continues to the present day). It was such a great achievement that overshadowed all of his literary and intellectual attainments, and he came to be known as *Muhaddith Dihlawi*, which really became an adjunct to his name.

Shah Waliullah as a great *muhaddith*, *faqih* and scholar of science of *Hadith* (*usul al-Hadith* or *'ulum al-Hadith*) has discussed on the position of *Hadith* in Islamic *Shari'ah* and given his verdict on this important and complicated matter with full confidence and bravery,¹ as well as discussed on various terms (*mustalahat*) relating to the science of *Hadith* and has given his own opinion on its many points scholarly.²

Shah Waliullah as a world renowned scholar of *Hadith* has studied almost books of *Hadith*, its science and biographies of transmitters of *Hadith* and then classified the books of *Hadith* on a scientific way and has given the examples for every class as well as presented his valuable opinion on every category. This is a very difficult, hair-splitting and painstaking work has been done by this Indian *muhaddith*, Shah Waliullah.³

It is generally said that Shah Waliullah had preferred the *Muwatta* to *Sahih al-Bukhari*. But this opinion is not proved, the fact is that Shah Waliullah has mentioned three books on *Hadith*— the *Muwatta*, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* in the first category, and started with the *Muwatta* because of its seniority in compiling age. He placed every book of first category in its own position without preference.⁴ It is right that he has paid glowing tribute and especial attention to the *Muwatta*.

¹ - For details see chapter V, section I, pp 198-206 of this thesis

² - For details see chapter V, section II, pp 207-224

³ - For details see chapter V, section III, pp 225-255

⁴ - For details see chapter V, Section III, pp 231, 234, and chapter VI, section I/A, p 256-269

Shah Waliullah did not mention *Sunan Ibn Majah* in the chapter of Categories of Books on Hadith (طقات كتب الحديث) of his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* but he did not exclude it from the basic books on *Hadith*. He has mentioned it in another places of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* as well as in the introduction of his *Al-Musauwa* and *Musaffa* and recognized it as a basic book on *Hadith*.¹

Shah Waliullah's most important works on Hadith are *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta* in Arabic, *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta* in Persian and *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*. Shah Waliullah has done his explanations of the *Muwatta* based upon the transmission of Yahya bin Yahya al-Masmudi (d.234H./849). He has rearranged and rechapterized it according to his own thinking and planning and added the suitable *Ayats* of the holy Quran with the chapters and Hadiths, as it has been done by Imam al-Bukhari (d.256H./870) in *Sahih al-Bukhari*.²

In his *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* Shah Waliullah has discussed on the most difficult and subtle matters of the science of *Hadith*. As he studied minutely Imam Bukhari's adopted system in his *Al-Jami` al-Sahih*, his method of chapterization, as well as meaning of those chapters and the relations among the chapters and *Hadiths* placed under them.

Shah Waliullah has successfully and scholarly done this difficult task and tremendous work. It is notable here that he has discussed on 24 parts (*kitab*) and 359 chapters (*bab*) and mentioned 13 basic points on the method of Imam Bukhari's chapterization. So far we know, no one before Shah Waliullah had discussed on so large number of points relating to relevant subject matter.³

¹ - For details see chapter V section III, pp 242- 47 of this thesis

² -For details see chapter VI, section I/B & C, pp 270- 275

³ - For details see chapter VI, section II, pp 276-291

As per our knowledge, no serious attempt has so far been made to discuss the contribution of Shah Waliullah in the field of *Hadith* of the Prophet (PBUH) analytically and critically, although the general books and articles have been written by some scholars from time to time. Their endeavours in this connection are highly appreciated.

The present work is an attempt to discuss the efforts and endeavours of Shah Waliullah Dihlawi in the field of *Hadith* and its science with necessary analysis, comparison, criticism and commentary. I have tried to collect the materials from the original resources and books of Shah Waliullah and other writers books and articles. If there is anything found in the writings of writers which differs with the statement of Shah Waliullah or its basic theme or appears contradictory to his total mission, then I have drawn the attention to the fact by quoting Shah Waliullah's own statements and necessary clarification. If there are different opinions of the scholars in the same event or matter then I have tried to quote them and prove what is more suitable according to the evidences and arguments, if I could, without inclining to any thought, sect or *mazhab*.

I am neither claiming the completeness nor absolute correctness in every matter of my work. I have merely tried my best to work exactly on Shah Waliullah and his contribution to *Hadith* literature and reach that target through this thesis based upon my limited ability by the help of Almighty Allah.

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. The first chapter delves into the conditions of Muslims of Indian sub-continent in the eighteenth century. This chapter includes three sections. Those are -- political condition, social condition and educational condition of Muslims of this territory with mentioning Shah Waliullah's role in those conditions in brief.

The second chapter deals with the life sketch of Shah Waliullah. This chapter includes five sections. The first section mentions the ancestors of Shah Waliullah with his genealogical table which reaches to the second Caliph `Umar (R.). The second section deals with his early life and education with mentioning his famous teachers of different *mazhabs* in India and Makka and Madina and building his personality as liberal, non-conventionalist and non-rigid and respectful to all *mazhabs* and becoming a strong speaker of preference the judicial opinions according to sound *Hadith*. The third section describes his teaching life, as he was a successful teacher, instructor of teachers, complete policy-maker, founder of a time-befitting educational system and includer of basic books of *Hadith* in the syllabus. This section also mentions the name of disciples of Shah Waliullah. The fourth section discusses on his wives and children which is a matter of disagreement among the writers. The fifth section mentions his works on different subjects especially on *Hadith* with short remarks and publication details.

The third chapter is devoted to study the *`aqida* and *mazhab* of Shah Waliullah. This chapter contains four sections. The first section mentions his *`aqida* in general. The second section discusses his stand with Shi`ite. The third section focuses on his view on *tasawuf*, whereas the fourth section investigates his *mazhab* of *fiqh*.

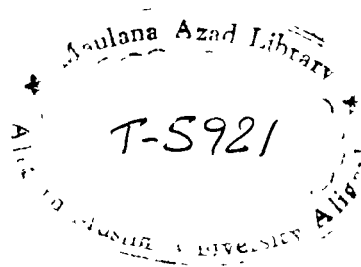
The fourth chapter provides with a brief information about the development of *Hadith* study in Indian sub-continent from the very beginning of Arabian Muslims' expedition to this territory (23H./388) till Shah Waliullah. This chapter has been distributed into four sections which include four stages of development of *Hadith* in this sub-continent. The first section mentions the names and short life sketch of famous *Muhaddiths* who contributed to *Hadith* literature from the beginning of Arabian Muslims expedition to Indian territory to their fall (23H.-388/634-998). The second section gives short remarks about the renowned *Muhaddiths* who offered their services for the

Hadith from the beginning of Gaznavids expedition (388-582H./998-1186) to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and `Abdul Haq Dihlawi. The third section provides with the brief informations about Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1034H./1624) and Shaikh `Abdul Haq Dihlawi (d.1052H./1642) with mentioning the notable *Hadith*-scholars who were ascribed to their schools. The fourth section of this chapter deals with Shah Waliullah's particular and discriminative achievements in the field of *Hadith* with especial attention to his school and its productions.

The fifth chapter discusses Shah Waliullah's view on the matters relating to science of *Hadith* (*Usul-i-Hadith*) with necessary analysis, criticism and comparison. This chapter comprises three sections. The first section deals with Shah Waliullah's view on the position of *Hadith* in Islamic Shari`ah. The second section related with his opinion on the different terms of the science of *Hadith* (*Mustalahat*) with mentioning the ways of conciliation among the apparently contradictory *Hadiths* and then the inner meanings (*asrar*) of *Hadith*. The third section describes analytically and critically the categories of books on *Hadith* (طبقات كتب الحديث) which have been mentioned by the Shah in his Hujjatullah al-Baligha with reasons and arguments. Besides this an especial attention has been given to prove the real position of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sunan Ibn Majah* according to Shah Waliullah.

The sixth chapter is devoted to study the three most important works of Shah Waliullah on *Hadith*. This chapter includes two sections. The first section describes his work on the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (d.179H./795) with necessary discussion on the position of the *Muwatta* according to Shah Waliullah which is a controversial matter among the scholars. This section also focuses on the two explanations of the *Muwatta* which have been done by Shah Waliullah. One of them is in Arabic language named *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta* and other in Persian language named *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta*. The second section deals with his most deep and subtle work on the *Sahih al-*

Bukhari -- the highest-ranked book on *Hadith*. As a great *muhaddith* and profound *faqih* he successfully and scholarly has explained the meanings of the difficult chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and described the relations among the chapters and *Hadiths* placed under them and mentioned thirteen basic formulas which help to understand the *Sahih al-Bukhari*.



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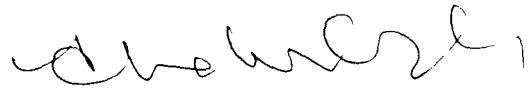
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr. Muhammad Mosleh Uddin has completed his Ph.D. thesis on "Shah Waliullah's Contribution to Hadith Literature - A Critical Study" under my supervision and that the work is his own original contribution and suitable for submission for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Studies of this University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Abdul Ali', is written above the printed name.

(Prof. Abdul Ali)
D.Litt

10/3/03

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE AND ABBREVIATIONS

ا	a	ط	t	به	bh
ب	b	ظ	z	يه	ph
پ	p	ع	`	ته	th
ت	t	غ	gh	ٹھ	th
ث	th	ف	f	جه	jh
ج	j	ق	q, qu	چه	ch
چ	ch	ك	k	ده	dh
ح	h	گ	g	ڈھ	dh
خ	kh	ل	l	ره	rh
د	d	م	m	كه	kh
ڈ	d	ن	n	گه	gh
ذ	z	ه	h		
ر	r	و	u, w, v		
ڑ	r	وَ	uw, wu		
ز	z	ء	`		
س	s	ي	i, y		
ش	sh	يَ	iy		
ص	s				
ض	dh, z				

Abbreviations:

`Am.	عليه الصلاة والسلام
PBUH.	Peace be upon him (Prophet)
R.	رضي الله عنه ؛ رحمه الله ؛ رحمة الله عليه
Sm.	صلی الله عليه و سلم

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(Muhammad Mosleh Uddin)

PREFACE

The present work seeks to investigate and study critically the contribution of Shah Waliullah Muhaddith Dihlawi to Hadith literature. Shah Waliullah Dihlawi was an outstanding scholar of Islamic sciences and especially of Hadith. He lived in the eighteenth century C.E., an age of down fall of Muslim power, political dissettlement, social degeneration and educational backwardness and indigence. He tried his best to diffuse and dissemination the Hadith and establish its study and practice in the Muslim society of Indian sub-continent. He wrote many valuable, wide extended, targetful, and farsighting books and articles relating to Hadith and its science.

As per our knowledge, no serious attempt has so far been made to discuss the contribution of Shah Waliullah in the field of Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH) analytically and critically, although the general books and articles have been written by some scholars from time to time.

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The third chapter devoted to study Shah Waliullah's *'aqida* and *mazhab* of *fiqh*. This chapter contains four sections. The first section mentions his *aqida* in general, the second section discusses his stand with Shi'ite, the third section focuses on his view on *Isawuf* and fourth section investigates his *mazhab* of *fiqh*.

The fourth chapter provides with a brief information about the development of Hadith in Indian sub-continent from the very beginning of Arabian Muslims' expedition to this territory (23H/388) till Shah Waliullah. This chapter has been distributed into four sections which include four stages of development of Hadith in this sub-continent. The fourth section of this chapter deals with Shah Waliullah's especial and discriminative achievements in the field of Hadith with mentioning his school.

The fifth chapter discusses Shah Waliullah's view on the matters relating to *Usul-i Hadith* with necessary analysis, criticism and comparison. This chapter comprises three sections. The first section deals with Shah Waliullah's view on the position of Hadith in Islamic Shari'ah. The second section related to his opinion on the different terms of the science of Hadith (*usul-i-Hadith*) with mentioning the ways of conciliation among the apparently contradictory Hadiths and then inner meanings (*asrar*) of Hadith. The third section describes analytically and critically the categories of books on Hadith which have been manifested by the Shah in his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* with reasons and arguments.

The sixth chapter devoted to study Shah Waliullah's three most important works on Hadith. This chapter includes two sections. The first section describes his work on the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (d 179H/795) with mentioning the position of the *Muwatta* according to Shah Waliullah and discussing on its two explanations done by Shah Waliullah, one of which is in Arabic named *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta* and other is in Persian named *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta*. The second section deals with his most deep and subtle work on the *Sahih al-Bukhari*, the highest-ranked book on Hadith. As a great *Muhaddith* and erudite in *fiqh* he successfully and scholarly has explained the meanings of the difficult chapters of the *Sahih al-Bukhari*, and described the relation among the chapters and Hadiths placed under them, and mentioned thirteen basic formulas which help to understand the *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

INTRODUCTION

Shah Waliullah bin Abdur Rahim al-Umari al-Dihlawi (1114-1176H / 1703-1762) was a greatest Islamic scholar, world-renowned thinker, reformer, highly qualified personality, unparalleled theologian, incomparable *muhaddith* and *faqih* in Indian sub-continent. He was a versatile genius and was respected and accepted by almost Muslims for his unusual intelligence, distinguished merit and true religious mind. He was a prolific and voluminous writer. He has covered the almost range of Islamic sciences and Muslims life in his writings and tried to guide them right way and show them true path. The dimension of his life and work was spread over all spheres - religion, ethics, politics, judiciary, social reform, public administration, economics, Islamic education like *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, Theology, *Fiqh*, *Iasawuf*, history, biography, social science etc which contributed to flow and growth of history. His imposing presence in all such fields was characteristically distinguishable from other personalities. The chequered life of Shah Waliullah Dihlawi which covered all sides of life and education is unique in the history of Muslims renaissance of the sub-continent.

It is surprising enough for every scholar who observes the circumstances of Shah Waliullah's period on the one hand and the large number of voluminous and valuable works done by him in different subjects on the other hand, by virtue of his high thought, farsighting, brilliancy, perspicacity and intelligence. He was neither a customary writer nor a professional copyist but his books have their originality and authenticity. His personality as a Muslim thinker is comparapable with Imam al-Ghazali (d 505H / 1111) and as a *muhaddith*, *faqih* and theologian asiding from *tasawuf*, specially with Imam Ibn Taimiyah (d 728H / 1328).

Shah Waliullah studied Hadith and *fiqh* under the renowned scholars of different *mazhabs* of India, Makka and Madina with inquisitive mind. So, his thought and idea were influenced by all of them which helped him to be tolerant to every *Sunni mazhab* and then he prepared himself to choice the

more strong and more supported *fiqhi-i- masail* after duly study and minutely investigation and justification them according to sound Hadith

Shah Waliullah originally was an erudite in Hadith and his unique title was *Muhaddith*, because of his extra ordinary, deep and concrete knowledge in this subject and for his keen interest in teaching it and spread this knowledge to all over the Muslim society He presented the Scripture and Prophetic Hadith as eternal sources of guidance in the changing world, as the living guidance for humanity and not lifeless models or rituals The Prophetic method of teaching according to Shah Waliullah, is that generally speaking, the law revealed by a Prophet takes especial notice of the habits, ways and peculiarities of the people to whom he is specifically sent

His endeavour to propagate Hadith through revival of its teaching and writing monumental works on the subject, set afoot the process of Islamic revival in the Indian sub-continent or rather in the whole Islamic world during the present era (which begins by the third decade of the twelfth century of *Hijra* and continues to the present day) It was such a great achievement that overshadowed all of his literary and intellectual attainments, and he came to be known as the *Muhaddith Dihlawi*, which really became an adjunct to his name Shah Waliullah emphasized very much in Hadith and its science as he stated "The fundamental and the best religious knowledge is that of Hadith "¹

The religious institutions of Indian sub-continent before Shah Waliullah had been influenced by conventional rigidity and the teachers generally used to teach the Hadith for having blessings and to prefer the certain *mazhab* and they used to instruct in the classical prevailing *fiqh* without having proof in the holy Quran and sound Hadith The study of *fiqh* was usually to meet the Muslim states requirement of training the *Qadhis* ²

¹ - Shah Waliullah, Hujjatullah al-Baligha, with Urdu translation, Muhammad Manzur al-Wajidi Maktaba Thanvi, Deoband, 1986, introduction, p 24

² - Qadhi Justice for judicial appointment

Shah Waliullah has criticized sharply those *faqih*s who used to relay judicial opinions of particular *mazhab* without justification, and those so called *muhaddithin* who narrate every Hadith they got without scrutiny it whether it is sound or false or strong or weak¹ He has taken liberal way to study and teaching the Hadith and stayed out of the boundary of conventional rigidity and tried to prefer the opinion of that *mazhab* which was proved more acceptable according to sound and strong Hadith

Shah Waliullah has created a new flow of the study and teaching of Hadith by review the method of ancient *muhaddithin* with commensuration to the contemporary problems, needs and demands of Islamic education

As a great *muhaddith* Shah Waliullah has discussed on various principles of Hadith and its science in his different books and manifested his opinion scholarly and bravely

His excellent system of Hadith study and teaching had a deep and wide impression and impact on all over the learned Muslims and their educational institutes in the sub-continent and out of the sub-continent also His books relating to Hadith including its commentaries and explanations have gained the acceptance and admiration of the experts in Hadith and those have been considered as important references by Islamic scholars and religious institutes of the world

Almost Islamic scholars and especially the Hadith experts who appear into view after Shah Waliullah in the sub-continent are benefited from him and indebted to him directly or indirectly and every Islamic educationist fill himself proud if he can connect his educational sequence of Hadith (*sanad*) to him May Allah bless Shah Waliullah and give him the best reward

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas, p 1/371, Shah Waliullah Al-Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al-Ikhtilaf ed by Abdul Fattah Abu Ghuddah Beirut 1398H pp 24-25

Chapter I

Conditions of Muslims of India in the Eighteenth Century

Eighteenth century in Indian sub- continent opened with two most important occurrences One was the birth of unparalleled Islamic scholar, thinker and reformer Shah Waliullah Dihlawi (1114-1176H /1703-1772) and another was the death of righteous, pious and strong great Muslim ruler, Emperor Aurongzib Alamgir (reign-1658-1707) The times of this century were very uneasy, critical and ruinous for Muslims in all spheres -- political, social, educational etc In this chapter we are going to mention the political, social and educational conditions of Muslims of India in the eighteenth century under three sections

Section I - Political Condition

The Muslims of India in the eighteenth century were suffering from political instability and dissettlement like almost other Muslim countries In this regard an American writer, Lothrop Stoddard said, "By the eighteenth century the Moslem world had sunk to the lowest depth of its decrepitude Nowhere were then any signs of healthy vigour; everywhere were stagnation and decay Government had become despotism tempered with anarchy and assassination Here and there a major despot like the Sultan of Turkey or the Indian Great Mughal maintained some semblance of state authority, albeit provincial rulers were for ever striving to erect independent governments, based, like their masters, on tyranny and extortion The provincial governors, in turn, strove ceaselessly against unruly local chiefs and swarms of brigands who infested the countryside Beneath the sinister hierarchy groaned the people, robbed, bullied and ground into dust "¹

¹ - Lothrop Stoddard, The New World of Islam, London 1921 pp 20-21

Of what we know of the history of Indian sub- continent it can not be gainsaid that Aurangzib was the most powerful sovereign of the greatest kingdom that had ever in India after Ashoka the great¹ Sir Jadunath Sarkar stated, "Aurangzib's empire embraced, in the north, Kashmir and all Afghanistan from Hindukush southwards to a line thirty six miles south Ghazni, on the west coast it stretched in theory to the northern frontier of Goa and inland to Belgaum and the Tungbhadra river Thereafter, the boundary passed west to east in a disputed and ever shifting line through the centre of Mysore, dipping south-east wards to the Coleroon river² In the north-east Chittagong and Monas river³ divided it from Arkan and Asam "⁴

The history of Aurongzib is particularly the history of India for sixty years His own reign (1658-1707) covers the second half of the 17th century and stands forth as a most important epoch in the annals of this country Islam made its last onward movement in India in this reign No provincial government has as yet set up his own rule and withheld revenue and obedience from the central power There were rebellions here and there, but no other crowned head raised itself to defy the Emperor of Delhi ever in any province⁵ Almost all historian are agreed Aurongzib was an ideal person in many ways and was unrivalled in sound judgement, courage, firm determination, administrative ability and simple habits, pious in his personal life⁶ Aurongzib was noted for his steadfastness to Islam and was, as such, popular with the majority of the army and the nobility in opposition to his other brothers⁷ He tried his best to eliminate the un- Islamic and innovation cultures which have interred the Muslim society from Hindus and *Shi`ites* specially in the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1604) On the other hand he established many

¹ - Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, Saviours of Islamic Spirit, English tr of Tarkh -i- Da wat wa Azimat, by Mohiuddin Ahmad, Lucknow, 1993, Vol IV, p 27

² - Coleroon river In north Tanjore

³ - Monas river At the west of Gauhati

⁴ - Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Cambridge History of India, ed Sir Richard Burn, Delhi, 1971, Vol I, p 3

⁵ - Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, History of Aurongzib, Calcutta, 1973, Vol I, introduction, p XI

⁶ - Henry George Keen, The Fall of Mughal Empire, Delhi 1973, pp 19-20, Aziz Ahmad Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Oxford, 1964, p 196

⁷ - Prof Muhammad Mohar Ali, History of The Muslims of Bengal, Imam Muhammad bin Sa ud Islamic University, Riyadh, 1406H /1985, Vol 1A, p 375

Islamic systemes like *muhtasibs*¹ and appointed *qadhis* and gave them power to decide all cases in accordance with Islamic *Shari'ah* and took personal interest in the compilation of the *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, the great digest of Muslim law according to *Hanafi mazhab* Aurangzib interdicted many customs, festivals and practices prevailed in the Mughal palace before him²

The glorious throne of the great kingdom left by Aurongzib came to be occupied by those who had, it seems, taken a vow that they would redress the mistake committed by Aurongzib in the preservation of Islam and promulgation of its laws in India. Their actions reflected their opposing tendencies in every direction. Aurongzib had made the empire vast and strong by his diligence, vigour and sense of duty but they tried to atone his sense through their indolence, heedlessness, dependence on intriguing nobles and marry-making. It was a misfortune not of the great Mughals alone, but of India and entire Muslim community that Aurangzib's throne came to be occupied, one after another by weak and worthless men. As God had willed it, the very first successor of Aurangzib was just his reverse.

During the life time of Shah Waliullah (1114 -1176H /1703 - 1762) eleven Mughal kings ascended the throne in quick succession,³ Those were

- 1- Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah, Shah 'Alam I (1707-12)
- 2- Mu'izzuddin Jahandar Shah (1712- 13)
- 3- Farrukhsiyar bin 'Azimush Shan (1713- 19)
- 4- Nikusiyar bin Akbar (1719)
- 5- Rafi'ud Darajat bin Rafi'ul Qadar (1719)
- 6- Rafi'ud Daula bin Rafi'ul Qadar (1719)

¹- Muhtasib Censor of public morals

²- Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, op cit , Vol II, p 299, Aziz Ahmad, op cit , pp 197-98, Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, op cit , pp 27-28, Mas ud Alam Nadwi, Tarikh al- Da wat al- Islamiyah fil- Hind, Cairo, 1372H pp 127-28, Muhammad Mian , Ulama -i- Hind ka Shandar Mazi , Maktaba Rashidiya, Karachi, 1412 H /1991, Vol 1, pp 562- 65

³- G N Jalbani, Teachings of Shah Waliyullah Dehlvi, Kitab Bhavan , Delhi, 1997, p 145, Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, op cit , pp 29-30

- 7- Muhammad Shah bin Jahan Shah (1719- 48).¹
- 8- Ahmad Shah bin Muhammad Shah (1748 - 54).
- 9- Azizuddin Alamgir II bin Jahandar Shah (1754- 59).
- 10 - Muhiyus Sunnah bin Kam Bakhsh bin Alamgir II (1759).
- 11 - Shah Alam II bin Azizuddin (1759- 1806).

Eleven kings donned the purple within a brief period of half a century ; some of them ruled for ten months or a little less than four months, some were kings in name only and puppet of the hands of ministers, while others remained on the throne just for a few days like Muhiyus Sunnah (November 1759).²

Regarding the certain period after Aurangzib Sir Jadunath Sarkar said, "This period witnessed the deposition and blinding of one Emperor, the murder of another, the twelve year banishment from the capital and power of a third and ten months' reign of yet another crowned puppet in Delhi Horror is piled upon horror almost throughout the epoch. The Jats raised, Marathas contested for the lordship of Delhi, the ~~Sikhs~~ have established their rule over much of the Punjab. In Bengal, Bihar and Oudh up to Allahabad British administration has been established".³ And when Shah Alam II rode into the capital of his fathers on the 6th of January 1772 then three months of the beginning of the Governorship of Warren Hastings, the establisher of British India already have been passed.⁴

The successors of Aurongzib had lost their grip on the provinces of the Empire and the capital Delhi had witnessed scenes of blood shed in the royal palace. The houses of the nobles had turned into breeding places of intrigues, and the crown of the once mighty Mughals had become just a toy in the hands of enterprising parties of the royal court. New powers, the

¹ - For details see Cambridge History of India, op cit , pp 319- 76

² - Abul Hasan Nadwi , op cit , pp 29- 30

³ - Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Calcutta, 1971, Vol 2 , Preface , p III

⁴ - Ibid, Preface, p III

Sikh and Jats had arisen high on the political horizon of the country challenging the already reduced authority of Muhammad Shah the ruling king (1719-1748). Marathas, of course had already asserted their presence on the political map of India, now they were well prepared to reap from the confusion and weakness of the Mughal empire. The rise of these rival forces encouraged the half-hearted loyalties at the court to turn into open revolt. All this dealt a smashing blow to the administrative machinery and it was shattered into a debris of disorder, causing a severe blow to the royal prestige¹

The successors of Aurangzib could not control the empire. Muhammad Shah (1719-48) and Ahmad Shah (1748-1754) cared little for the complications and the problems of the empire and indulged in luxurious and comforts of life. As a result of the weakness of the central authority, the heads of the provinces claimed their sovereignty. The invasion of Nadir Shah (in 1739) also weakened the empire²

The whole of Muslim India appeared to be swallowed by the internal and external enemies specially by Marathas. Then came down Ahmad Shah Abdali (in 1757) who joined by the Rohila chiefs, Najibud Daula, Saadatullah Khan and Hafiz Rahmat, crushed the Maratha power in the third battle of Panipath in January 1761³. Had Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose empire was in its youth and vigour, not left India like Nadir Shah, he might have extended his dominion from Afghanistan to Bengal. But his hasty retreat from India, with innumerable sprinklings warring amongst themselves paved the way for gradual emergence of the British as the supreme power in India⁴

Throughout the long reign of Shah Alam, the last king Mughal (1759-1806) he remained a puppet in the hands of the ministers and the Marathas

¹ - A. D. Muhtar, *Shah Wali Allah - A Saint Scholar of Muslim India*, National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1979, p. 43; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Shah Waliullah Dihlavi ki Siyasi Maktubat, Aligarh, 1950, introduction*, pp. 1-5; Mohiuddin Ahmad, *Sayid Ahmad Shahid*, Lucknow, 1975, introduction, pp. 7-8

² - Abdur Rashid Bhat, *Political Thought of Shah Wali Allah*, Adnan Publisher, Delhi, 1996, p. 82

³ - Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, pp. 2-3; Mohiuddin Ahmad, p. 8

⁴ - Mohiuddin Ahmad p. 8

After his defeat in the battle of Boxer in 1664, he gave the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English East India Company and latter promised to pay him an annual tribute of Rs 26 Lakhs. The whole of northern India was practically at the mercy of Marathas, Jats and Sikhs.¹ In fact the English were the guardian and protector of the Emperor, while the pageant on the Delhi throne was a perpetual minor, under the protection and control of the British Government, without any volition or motion of his own.² There was a treaty between Dawlat Rao Sindhia and Emperor Shah Alam named Sarji Anjangaon occurred on 30 December 1803 on different terms. Thus the treaty makes the true end of Mughal Empire as a political institution.³ The last Mughal Emperor Shah Alam who has been blinded by the Rohila chiefs in 1688 died in 1806, after occupying the throne for 47 years.⁴

The fundamental malaise of eighteenth century Islam in India was clearly perceived by Shah Waliullah (1703- 1762) who saw the empire of the great Mughals crumbling before him. The Shah had drawn up note not only detailed for social, fiscal, and political reforms but also strenuously endeavoured to restore a central authority in India in order to curb the forces of disorder and strife tearing the country apart. It erroneous to assume as dose Wilfred Cantwell Smith that the Shah's political ambition was to restore Muslim power on the Mughal pattern.⁵ Had Smith said that the Shah's political ambition was to restore the Muslim power on the complete Islamic pattern it would have been more perfect statement.

Shah Waliullah was in touch with Ahmad Shah Abdali Durrani personally and invited him to India before the third battle of Panipath (1761) and also urged upon Najibud Daula⁶ to put an end to the unbridled confusion then prevailing around Delhi but that was primarily to save the Muslims undergoing unbearable

1- Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, op cit , p 36, Cambridge History of India, op cit , pp 414- 15

2- Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, op cit , Vol IV, p 334

3- Ibid pp 336- 37

4- Abul Hasan Nadwi, p 37

5- Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History, New York, 1957, p 1

6- There are some letters of Shah Waliullah addressed to Najibud Daula. See Shah Waliullah ki Siyasi Maktubat, Prof Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, op cit , letter No 3- 9, pp 58- 67, (7 letters)

hardship at the hand of predatory powers rising their head on the heels of vanishing Mughal empire and secondly, because there was no power left in the country which could stem the tide of rising chaos and establish law and order on a firm footing. He accordingly pleaded that political stability and economic prosperity of the country depended on a political set-up based upon wider principles of humanitarianism, social justice and economic well-being of the people¹

Shah Waliullah has expressed the political instability and personal insecurity and anxiety in his poem also² Shah Waliullah has written many things on Islamic state, caliphate, politics, jurisprudence, etc. in his several books like *Izalat al-Khafa 'an Khilafat al-Khulafa*, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, *Al-Budur al-Bazigha*, *Qurrat al-'Ainam fi Tafdhil al-Shaikhain* and *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya*.

In addition to his writings on the political theory in Islam the Shah's deep concern over the political situation of his time, seems to have had some learning on the subject under discussion. This role in the mid-eighteenth century of the politics of the sub-continent, is mainly concerned with the harmful effects of the decline of the Mughal power in India and with his struggle to crush the anti-Muslim forces like the Marathas and the Jats and his exhortations to the Umara, the soldiers and other important officials of the Muslim empire.³ Among other things the Shah's letters are good documents of then that time's political situation of Indian sub-continent.⁴ Shah Waliullah's letters are

¹ - Ubaidullah Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah aur Unki Siyasi Tahrik*, Lahore, 1942, pp 26-29, Kalik Ahmad Nizami, *Ibid*, pp 16-17, 60-61, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shah Wali Allah and His Times*, Campbell, Australia, 1980, p 187

² - Qasidah Baiyah of Shah Waliullah which is relating to the present matter

كان نجوماً أومضت في الغياهب * عيون الإقاعي أو روس العقارب
إذا كان قلب المرء في الأمر خائراً * فأضيق من تسعين رجب السباب
و تشغلني عني وعن كل راحتي * مصائب تقفو مثلها في المصائب
إذا ما أنتني أزمة مدلهمة * تحيط بنفسي من جميع الجوانب ..

This Qasidah is available in *Nuzht al-Khawatir* of Hakim Abdul Hai, *Dairat al-Ma'arif al-Uthmaniya*, Hyderabad, 1376H/1957, Vol 6, pp 410-11

³ - For details of those exhortations see *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* of Shah Waliullah, *Al-Majlis al-Ilmi*, Dabhel, 1355/1936, Vol 1, pp 215-17

⁴ - The Political Letters of Shah Waliullah have been selected and arranged by Prof Khliq Ahmad Nizami under the title *Shah Waliullah Dihlavi ki Siyasi Maktubat*, supra p 7

regarded by modern scholars as important, because of their alleged revolutionary and political content¹

An important letter of Shah Waliullah relating to the politics and advises for the concern authorities in different posts and portfolios is mentioned bellow with basic points

To the King, *Wazirs* and Nobles,

- 1- The most important factor on which the well-being of the empire and the glory of the faith depend is the approval of Allah and the Prophet. The moments of the enemies are crushed, priority should be given to vanquishing the towns and forts of the Jats. This project is indispensable, both in the interests of Islam and of the Muslim community. Were the wretched Jats crushed, no Zamindar would then dare to rebel.
- 2- The *arias* under *khalisa* should be extended, particularly as far as the regions around Shahjahanabad (Delhi) as far as Akbarabad (Agra) and from the Hisar and the Gangetic regions to Sirhind. The main reason for the decline of the Islamic administration was the small area covered by the *khalisa* and the indigence of the imperial treasury.
- 3- Following the practice prevalent in Shahjahan's reign, only important Amirs should be assigned *jagirs*, petty *mansabdars* should be paid in cash as they were generally unable to control the *jagirs* and depended on *ijara* (framing of revenue). In general, poor financial resources and lack of administrative experience prevented them from devoting themselves to imperial duties.
- 4- Those who secretly assist enemies in the civil wars should be deprived of their *jagirs* and *mansabs*. Their dismissal from government service would serve as a lesson to the rest who would never dare rebel.

¹ - Saiyid A. A. Rizvi, op cit, p 298

5- The imperial army should be organized along these lines :

a - The *daroghas* (military commanders) should possess these qualities - noble birth, bravery and consideration of their colleagues and total loyalty to the reigning monarch.

b- The spiritless, disloyal soldiers in the army should be replaced with loyal and energetic ones who had excellent records of fighting the rebels.

c- There should be no delay in paying the soldiers, otherwise they borrowed money (on interest) and were reduced to poverty.

6- The *qadhis* (judges) and *muhtasibs* (censors of morals) should be sincere *Sunnis*. It should be widely known that they were incorruptible.

7- Orders prohibiting *holi* and *Muharram* festival should be issued.

8- The Imams in the Mosques should be paid their daily stipends regularly and their presence at congregational prayers should be compulsory. Moreover, they should strictly be ordered not to violate the reverence due to the observation of fasting at *Ramadhan*.

9- The King of Islam (the Emperor Ahmad Shah) and leading nobles should refrain from luxurious living (as forbidden by the *Shari`ah*). They should sincerely repent of past sins and become totally committed to virtuous behaviour.¹

In his *Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya* Shah Waliullah went on to remind rulers of the dominant role of Muslims even in a multi-religious society, saying :

¹ - Shah Waliullah Dihlavi ki Siyasi Maktubat , op. cit, pp. 41- 44, A. A Rizvi, op. cit. pp. 298- 99. with objection to the point no. 7. Khliq Ahmad Nizami has left the point no. 7 blank in the original Persian text, ibid, p. 96.

"Oh kings ' *Mala A`la*' (Heavenly area) urges you to draw your swords and not put them back in their sheaths again until Allah has separated the Muslims from the polytheists and the rebellious kafirs and the sinners are made absolutely feeble and helpless " ¹

When Muslims and *kafirs* were separated with this verses, said the Shah, because of the wishes of *Mala A`la* rulers were requested to act in the following manner

In each district, separated by three or four days journey, a just *amir* (here, meaning military commander) should be appointed to dispense justice to the oppressed and to enforce the penal code as sanctioned by the *Shari`ah*. They should also crush rebellions in their own areas and see to it that apostasy and sin were dealt with swiftly. Under them Islam would be clearly dominant in their areas. Each person in the government should faithfully perform his own duty - especially governors. It should be known that each *Amir* possessed enough power to implement the conditions specified by holy law, yet he should be held in some check so that he would not be emboldened to rebel. It was also essential that in each *iqlim* (province) a powerful *amir* (governor) be appointed who was responsible for military affairs. Under him there should be 12000 *mujahids* (fighters of holy war) in each province who would be fierce fighters for Allah. After ensuring military security then, also at the wishes of the *Mala A`la amirs* (governors) could turn to the question of civil administration. In this area, not even the tiniest rule of the *Shari`ah* should be neglected, this would automatically lead to happiness and prosperity for all ²

¹ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit, p 1/234

² - Ibid, pp 1/215-16

Section II - Social Condition

Shah Waliullah's period was famous for political instability and degeneration. The political degeneration generally becomes the cause of moral and social downfall. It is also true that moral and social degeneration causes the political downfall. In the times of Shah Waliullah the Emperors especially Muhammad Shah (1719-48), Ahmad Shah (1748-54) and Jahandar Shah (1754-59) and common nobilities were afflicted with social and moral crimes and general public have been influenced by them.¹

Enumerating the causes of the downfall of Mughal empire Vidya Dhar Mahajan writes, "Too much wealth, luxury and leisure soften their character. Their *harems* became full. They got wine in plenty. They went in palanquins to the battle field. Such nobles not fit to fight against the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs. The nobility degenerated at a very rapid pace."²

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz Dihlavi has given some examples of the luxurious living of Mughal nobles, as he stated, The women of the houses of Nawab Qamaruddin Khan used to conclude their bath with a dip in rose-water. The enditure on *pan* leaves and flowers purchased for the women folk of another noble amounted to Rupees three hundred.³

Another historian Ghulam Ali Azad says, "It was commonly known and stated by the people in Aurangabad that quite a large number of persons never cooked food in their own houses during the time of *Amirul Umara* (Hashim Ali Khan). The cooks of the Amirul Umara used to sell their share victuals with result that highly rich *pilau* could be purchased for a few Paisa."⁴

¹ - Dr Mazhar Baqa, *Usul - i - Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah*, Baqa Publications, Karachi, 1986, p 72, Prof Azduddin Khan, *Armughan -i- Sa'id*, Aligarh, 1990, p 78, Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op cit*, p 39

² - Vidya Dhar Mahajan, *Muslim Rule in India*, Delhi, 1970, Vol 2, p 343

³ - Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, *Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz*, Published by Muhammad Bashir Meeruti, Matba' Mujtabai, Meerut, 1314 H / 1897, p 110

⁴ - Ghulam Ali Azad, *Mathirul Kiram*, Kutub Khana Asafiya, Hyderabad, 1331H / 1913, Vol 11, p 170

Individuals moral and social behaviour, customs and cultures and practices borrowed from the non- Muslims¹ Many Hindu - customs and cultures and nonsensical practices were continuously imported to the Emperor's and nobles palaces and established as a Muslim - culture²

Unorthodox creeds and polytheistic practices disregarding the divine command to make religion exclusive for God had been taken from polytheist and *Shi'ites*, which were, to say the least, more dangerous for the Muslim society than their other social and Moral degeneration Divine honours were paid to the graves of the saints, prostration was common before the so-called spiritual guides, shrines were venerated bedecked with costly bed-sheets and flowers, oblations were offered for one's ancestors, fairs were held in graveyards and musical concerts were held to honour the departed saints taken as guardian spirits in every part of the country The doctrine of *tauhid* (oneness of God), had come to acquire a peculiar, restricted connotation that God was undoubtedly the creator and Lord of Universe but He had delegated His authority to the saints and godly souls who distributed favors on His behalf or acted as intercessors between man and God³

In this connection the statement of Lothrop Stoddard is mentionable here although his generalization is not free from objection, as he said, "As for religion, it was a decadent as every thing else The austere monotheism of Muhammad had become overlaid with a rank growth of superstitions and puerile mysticism The mosques stood unfrequented and ruinous, deserted by ignorant multitude, which decked out in amulets, charms and rosaries, listened to squalid *fakirs* or ecstatic *darvishes*, and went on pilgrimage to toms of holy man, worshipped as saints and intercessors with that Allah who had become to remote a being for direct devotion of these benighted souls As for the moral percepts of the Quran, they were ignored or defied, wine - drinking and opium -

¹ - Mirza Hairat Dihlavi, *Hayat -i- Tayiba*, Maktaba al- Salam, Lahore, 1958, introduction, pp 15-16, Aziz Ahmad, op cit, pp 163, 165, Mas ud Alam Nadwi, op cit, p 130, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, p 22, A A Rizvi, op cit, p 176

² - Mirza Hairat Dihlavi, pp 15- 16

³ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, pp 40- 41

eating were well-nigh universal, prostitution was rampant, and the most degrading vices flaunted naked and unashamed."¹

Describing the hopeless situation of Indian Muslim society Sayid Solaiman Nadvi said, "The Mughal empire was about to collapse. Exotic beliefs and practices and innovations in matters of religion were common among the Muslims; impious *shaikhs* and *faqirs* had turned the shrines of the saints into purple seats for beguiling over credulous message"²

The palace of Emperor and many nobles were influenced by Iranian culture and accustomed with many *Shi'a* customs.³ A new eighteenth century development in some provinces of India was the model of celebration of the anniversary of the *Muharram*. They form processions displaying the placards and alongwith their mourning songs, abuse and condemn the enemies of Imam Hosain(d.61H./680).Some times there were some quarrels between *Sunnis* and *Shi'its* but some times in some places the *Sunnis* also participated the programs.⁴

Prostitutions were available and homosexual inter course and debauchery were also been found. The eighteenth century craze for licentiousness had prompted many members of the aristocracy to appear in their private musical gatherings in a dresses as women. Wastefulness and extravagance were the hallmark of the aristocracy.⁵ The number of other festivals and fairs offering opportunities for unbridled revelry and marry-making and outing was considerable. There was no imposition placed on the participants drinking habits during the festivities, and the nights were mainly devoted to utter debauchery.⁶ Muhammad Shah, Jahandar Shah and Ahmad Shah were so attracted to the unsocial

¹ - The New World of Islam, op. cit., pp. 20- 21.

² - Maqalat -i- Solaimani, ed. Mu'inuddin, Azamgarh, n.d. p. 44.

³ - Mirza Hairat Dihlawi, op. cit., pp. 14- 15, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op. cit., pp. 39- 40, A. A. Rizvi, op. cit., pp. 174 - 75.

⁴ - A. A. Rizvi, pp. 190- 92, Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p 165.

⁵ - A A Rizvi, pp.178- 79.

⁶ - Ibid, p.184, with reference to Hadaiq al- Aqalim of Murtaza Hosain, p. 139.

practices that beautiful women were seen in their palaces even at the distance of a few miles from there palaces ¹

To deal in usury and interest was also available in the Mughal empire ² Gambling, adultery, and wine drinking were available especially in the noble society ³

In spite of social degeneration from every side and in almost classes there were many perfect spiritual persons available in the country, as Shah Abdul Aziz stated, "As many as twenty two leading and good guiding *shaikhs* of different mystical orders happened to be available, in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-48) in Delhi - it is something which rarely comes about", ⁴ who sustained the hopes and spirits of the Muslim population Of these, the most prominent was Shah Waliullah

As a greatest thinker and reformer of his times Shah Waliullah observed the Indian Muslim society properly and diagnosed its diseases perfectly and then presented the proper treatment and advises for relief from them Shah Waliullah's addresses and advises regarding the social life are important and those are the true picture of then that times Indian Muslim society simultaneously Some of those addresses and advises are mentioned bellow

"No society could survive without maintaining some semblance equilibrium A proper adjustment of income and expenditure and the avoidance of extremes of poverty and wealth were imperative laws of society On the moral side, should a large number of people indulge in distilling liquor and carving idols, they would corrupt the religion of the other inhabitant" ⁵ Shah Waliullah drew the attention of the Indian nobles to the fact that the aristocracy's

¹ - Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, p 7, Mirza Hairat Dihlavi, op cit, pp 220- 23

² - A A Rizvi, op cit, pp 39, 169, 315

³ - Al- Tafhīmat al- Ilahīya, op cit, pp 1/216- 17

⁴ - Malfūzat Shah Abdul Aziz op cit p 106

⁵ - Shah Waliullah, Hujjatullah al- Baligha with Urdu tr by Muhammad Manzur al-Wajidi Maktaba Thanvi Deoband, 1986, Vol II, pp 256- 57, (Chapter Ibtigha al- Rizq)

extravagance was the principal reason for the fall of the Persian and Byzantine towns and, in turn, for that of the empire. The townsfolk in those two empires had vied with each other for supremacy in pomp and prodigality. They lavishly spent money on palatial buildings, baths, garden, horses, handsome slaves, food, drink and clothing. Consequently, their agriculturists, merchants and artisans were taxed most crucially. Those who dared to rebel were crushed by the military. The same was true, the Shah said, of the condition of those Mughal towns where not only the aristocracy, but also ordinary people had been so prostrated by extravagant and reckless spending on effeminate luxuries that they were unable to get out of the vicious circle.¹

The luxurious living of the rulers was indeed an apt illustration of that of the days of *Chosros (Kisras)* and *Kaisers*. But for this principal vices, there were other causes as well, namely the limitation of the reserved territory, bankruptcy of the state exchequer, multiplicity of the *jagirdars* and the monopoly system. In short, the storm of misfortunes had started blowing from every thing and for all this, the upper class was mainly responsible which for the sake of its ease and comfort, was sucking the blood of its poor subjects. This was the then condition of Delhi the capital of the empire.²

Addressing Muslim soldiers Shah Waliullah said that they had been raised by Allah for the purpose of *jihad* in order to root out polytheism at its core. They were failing, however, to pursue their sacred duty. Their horses and arms were used to enrich themselves and *jihad* remained far from their minds. They drank, consumed Indian hemp, were clean-shaved (except moustaches) and oppressed the weak. In return for such bad behaviour they gave nothing to society. The military would soon have to account for their deeds before their creator. Allah wish them to act and dress like pious *ghazis* (fighters). They should wear beards, perform compulsory prayers and protect the poor and defenseless persons. *Ghazis* in battle should be eager

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op. cit., p. 1/259, (Chapter : Iqamat al-Irtifaqat wa Islah al-Rusum).

² - Shah Waliullah, Al-Budur al-Bazigha, Al-Majlis al-Ilmi, Bijnore, 1354 H., p. 137.

for victory Prior to travelling and fighting they should pray If all these customs were followed the Shah believed it would be impossible for Muslim soldiers to lose in battle¹

Turning to the artisans, the Shah asserted that they, like members of other classes in Muslim society, had adopted the wicked ways They had abandoned compulsory prayers and has begun to worship their own gods, making pilgrimages to the tombs of sufis like *Shah Madar*² and *Salar Mas`ud*³ They had invented innumerable devices for divining and followed a multitude of superstitious and magical practices Some of them had adopted a special type of dress and superstitiously ate certain foods, some drank alcohol and forced their women into prostitution to support their habit These evils ensured that they would experience unhappy lives in this world and none too pleasant ones in the next

The mornings and evenings of artisans should be occupied in prayer, their days in the pursuit of their legitimate and traditional professions, their nights set apart for their families, their earnings should be greater than their spending and the remainder should be used for the comfort of travelers, the helpless and for any emergency⁴

Shah Waliullah posed the question to the descendants of leading *Sufis* why had they splintered into various groups, each directed along a different path? He believed these *sufis* had abandoned God's way and that of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and they had assumed instead their own leadership, thereby challengin God Not only misguided in their own religious practices, such *sufis* posed as teachers and influenced others Moreover the Shah asserted that they accepted disciples for money They used sacred knowledge for worldly gains and they led their disciples away from Allah and the Prophet To him, many contemporary *sufis* are similar to bandits, thugs and impostors and enemies of the faith

¹ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit, pp 1/285- 86

² - Tomb of Shah Madar at Kanpur, India

³ - Tomb of Salar Mas ud at Bahraich, India

⁴ - Ibid pp 1/286- 87

Shah Waliullah continued with a general note of warning to all Muslims about teachers - they should be beware of those who failed to attract people to the Quran and *Sunnah* of the Prophet (PBUH), but drew them to themselves. The subtle teachings of past sufis could not be discussed with laymen, for *sufism* in general was designed to Promote *ihsan*¹ (inner development).²

Addressing the *'ulama* (learneds) the Shah called them fools, preoccupied with Greek learning and the mastery of grammar. To him, these did not rate as form of learning. Real knowledge was confined to Quranic verses and the understanding of *Sunnah*. Therefore, the *'ulama* should learn the Quran and understand its complex terminology and controversial verses. Likewise it was the duty of all theologians to preserve the authentic Hadiths of the Prophet (PBUH). They should attain a correct understanding of the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) methods used in prayers, ablutions, *hajj* and *jihad*. Even his way of speaking and the control of his voice should be copied and the *'ulama* should also have some knowledge of his ethical practices. The *Sunnah*, however, should not be elevated to the status of obligatory religious duties, like methods of performing ablutions and *salat* and *nisab* (a certain estate of number or measure for being the *Shar'ī* tax obligatory), *zakat* and the rules of inheritance. The history of the Prophet Muhammad's companions and Arabic grammar should be studied with theology in mind.³

Addressing the preachers the Shah said that they had been confusing people by quoting false Hadiths in their sermons. Ecstatic utterances, came from those who were not engrossed in the divine; rather people should learn 'Ihsan' in order to receive divine inspiration. After his creation of the Prophet Muhammad's community, Allah has been prepared to assist rather than hinder, people in their religious duties.⁴

Shah Waliullah's admonitions to common Muslims were equally severe. He said that they had turned to cupidity and avarice. Women had begun to dominate

¹ - Ihsan For details see infra, chapter III, section III, p

² - Al- Tafhiat al- Ilahiya, op cit, p 1/214

³ - Ibid, p. 1/284

⁴ - Ibid, p 1/284

men and they in turn had ignored the natural rights of women. People considered the unlawful palatable and the lawful bitter. Allah had commanded nothing that could not be performed by the average person. The Shah advised Muslims to satisfy their sexual urges in lawful marriages. Extravagance should be avoided by people in every social group. Only food that was permitted by the Shari'a should be eaten. People should support themselves without becoming parasitic on the community or state. Allah would help each person to achieve self-sufficiency.¹

Shah Waliullah condemned usury on economic grounds. He pleaded that the lust to become rich through usury undermined interest in agriculture, crafts and other productive professions. People were tempted to enrich themselves by realizing high rates of compound interest. This was an extremely unhealthy means of earning money. In pre-Islamic Arabia, he wrote, unending enmity and wars between different tribes and clans due to usury, prompted the Quran to make it illegal and forbidden.²

In this connection professor A. A. Rizvi has given a wrong information from Shah Waliullah by misinterpreting his statement in *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, as he informed, "However, the Shah did not totally forbid the taking or giving of loans on interest, but asserted that it was the duty of authority enforcing the *Shari'a* to set a limit to the interest rate."³

Actually the Shah did not say the above saying but he stated "The order in this matter is confined to the *Shari'* (law maker, means Allah and His Prophet) either He limits the permission by low rate or strongly forbids the high rate or prohibit it totally, it is up to Him."⁴ Neither Shah Waliullah nor any other authority has the right to make the interest

¹ - *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya*, op cit, pp 1/217-18

² - *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, op cit, pp 2/258-59, (Chapter *Ibtigha al-Rizq*)

³ - A. A. Rizvi op cit, p 315

⁴ - *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, op cit, Vol II, p 259, (Sub Chapter *Al-Buyu al-Manhiyu Anha*)

"الأمر في ذلك إلى الشارع"

permissible which has been forbidden by law maker - Allah and His Prophet The Shah clearly said, "To deal in interest is rejected (*batil*)" ¹

Shah Waliullah has drawn the attention of the people to the gambling and said that they would know that the gambling was rejected, because that was the way of seizing the wealth of others based upon the ignorance, illegal lust and fraudulence ²

Shah Waliullah had criticized the innovation which had crept into the practice of the Muslims Regarding the festival of tenth day of *Muharram* the Shah said that *Ashura* had been made the day of mourning by a particular community, he asked if they did not know that every day was Allah's and his will was responsible for all happenings If it was true that Imam Husain (d 61H/680) had been martyred on the day, it was also true that not a single day had passed without the death of some beloved of Allah Some people had also erred by reserving *Ashura* for sports and games

On the *Shab-i- Barat* ³ Muslims, like heathens organized frivolous games and demonstrations, said the Shah The majority thought that on the day a large quantity of food should be sent to the dead He challenged the Muslims to demonstrate the logic behind such a practice ⁴

He also condemn them for wastefulness in marriages Again, when a death occurred in a family, the members of that family were made duty-bound to feed their relatives during the mourning period This he said was unlawful custom

Criticizing the neglect of prayers, the Shah said that some man were so deeply involved in their professional affairs that they were unable to find time for performing prayers, others were so busy with their own

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit, Vol II, p 258 " الربا سحت باطل "

² - Ibid, Vol II, p 259

³ - *Shab -i-Barat* The 15th night of the Month of Sha ban

⁴ - Al- Tafhīmat al- Ilahīya, op cit, p 1/218

amusements that they had forgotten prayer- time. Many had neglected *zakat*, although a large section of rich men provided food and clothing for a number of people, it was not done with a view to giving *zakat*.

Disapproving the Muslims dependence on the *mansabs* and stipends, Shah Waliullah asserted that the rulers, being unable to bear the burden of their proteges' demands had no alternative but to harass the ryot.¹

Shah Waliullah has condemned the Muslims visiting the tomb of any pious man for seeking anything or fulfillment any demand,² but as for him, the normal visiting any grave is permissible and a good deed (*mustahab*).³

Shah Waliullah has advised the Muslims to return to the Arabic language, Arabian dress and Arab style of living and preferring them to others.⁴ Above said advice of the Shah proved that Shah Waliullah was not pleased at all with the Iranian and Hindu culture which have been interred into the Muslim society and the palaces of Empires and nobles of Mughal empire and which was harmful for a pure Muslim society.

¹ - Al- Tahimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , pp 1/ 217- 19

² - Ibid, p 2/ 45, For details see infra, chapter III, section III, pp

³ - Shah Waliullah, *Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta*, Dar al- Kutub al- `Ilmiyah, Beirut, 1403 H / 1983, Vol 1, pp 250- 51, For details see infra , chapter III, section III, p .

⁴ - Shah Waliullah, *Wasiyat Nama*, (Urdu tr), with *Risalah Danishmandi*, Matba` Ahmadi Delhi, n d p 7, Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya , Ibid, pp 2/ 245- 46

Section III - Educational Condition

The Islamic education entered the Indian sub-continent in the first century of *Hijra* and with the Arab-Muslim conquest many territories of then India specially Sindh became centre for Islamic education.¹ After the Arab dominion over Sindh came to an end and Ghaznavid (beginning 388 H / 998) and Ghorid (beginning 570H./1174) Sultans established their hold over that province. There was then an inflow of scholars from Khurasan and Transaxiana causing a decline in the study of Islamic education.² The raising of *Shi'its* in these times in different parts of Muslim- Indian territory also played a vital role in weaken the Islamic education.³ In this period the poetry, astrology, speculative sciences, Greek philosophy and rigid jurisprudence gained popularity among the people.⁴

Just as India was profoundly influenced politically by Turkish and Afghan ever since the fifth century A. H. (11th century C.E.) the impact of Iran had continued to be felt in its educational, literary, cultural and intellectual spheres. Iran's literary style in prose and poetry, its mystic orders, its curriculum and educational system as well as the text books compiled there exerted a strong influence in India. The process became more potent after Mughal Emperor Humayun's re-capture of the country with the Iranian assistance. During the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) India became totally independent on Iran for its system of education.⁵ The curriculum followed in the educational institutions and even the standard of education particularly in the field of speculative knowledge like logic and philosophy after Amir Fathullah

¹ - Dr Muhammad Ishaq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature*, Dhaka University, 1947, pp 21- 22

² - Hakim Abdul Hai, *Al- Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil-Hind*, Damascus, 1377H /1958, p 135, Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan, *Muslim Banger Shamajik Itihash* (Bengali), Azad Publications, Dhaka, 1965, p 75, Dr Muhammad Ishaq, pp 43- 44, Dr Muhammad Asadullah al-Ghalib, *Ahle Hadees Andolon in South Asia - Origin and Development*, (Published Doctoral Thesis), Hadees Foundation, Rajshahi, Bangladesh, 1996, p 223

³ - Dr Ishaq, pp 42- 44, Dr Asadullah al-Ghalib, p 220

⁴ - Hakim Abdul Hai, pp 135- 36

⁵ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op ct*, pp 7- 8

Shirazi's emigration to India (d 1589C E)¹ the intellectual and cultural sway of Iran was so complete over India that it could not be overlooked²

Mir Baqir Damad (d 1631C E) emerged as a dominating figure during the middle of the eleventh century of *Hijra*, whose brilliant exposition of intellectualism made his style and thought acceptable to the educated class from Iran to India. Not long after him Sadruddin Shirazi (d 1640C E) made a mark as an illuminist scholar and liberal-minded philosopher. His *Al-Asfar al-Arba'ah* and *Hidayatul Hikmah* (also known as *Sadra*) achieved a wide fame. The natural disposition of the Iranians which easily runs riot completely endorsed the sophistry and windy quibbling of Sadruddin Shirazi. Still, they gained a complete mastery over the educational system of almost of Muslim countries during the course the tenth to twelfth century A H (16th- 18th C E)³

A scholar Qadhi Muhammad Aslam Harawi (d 1651 C E) by name, drank deep in the philosophy and logic of Iranian masters while his illustrious son Qadhi Mir Zahid (d 1690C E) developed these knowledges to the pink for perfection. He spent a greater part of his life in India writing *Sharh Mawaqif*, *Sharh Tahzib* and *Risalah Qutbiyah*. The three commentaries known as *Zawahid-i-Thalathah* became popular text books in the country⁴

Notwithstanding his mastery in the speculative science, Mir Zahid was not well-versed in *fiqh* and Hadith and other religious disciplines. He was not able to teach even *Sharh Waqayah* a book of law prescribed for the intermediate standard. In this regard Shah Abdul Aziz Dhlavi (d 1239H /1823) stated, "One of the nobles used to take lessons in *Sharh Waqayah* from Mir Zahid but (as he did not consider himself adequately versed in *fiqh*) he never taught his disciple until my grand father (Shah Abdur Rahim, who took lessons

¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai, op cit , p 15, Abul Hasan Nadwi , op cit , p 8 , 20 , A A Rizvi , op cit , pp 379- 80

² - Abul Hasan Nadwi, p 8

³ - Ibid, pp 20- 21, A A Rizvi , pp 64- 65

⁴ - Ibid, pp 20- 21

in speculative sciences from him) had arrived " ¹ On the other hand Mir Zahid's proficiency in speculative sciences was so perfect that Shah Abdul Aziz says " I hold dare the writings of Mirza Jan (d 1781CE) but those of *Akhund* (Mir Zahid) are darest to me " ²

Regarding the educational system of Muslim India Mas ud Alam Nadwi stated, "The educational institutions were coinciding their voices with the followers of Aristotle and other Greek philosophers This is a matter of strange that while the Greek themselves rejected those philosophical and logical books in eighteenth century and the old bones of those knowledges have been putrefied and lost their acceptance in their home land the Indian scholars delved deep into those knowledges and spent there full energies and exertions for studying and obtaining them, whereas they were neglecting the contemporary demands and necessities in the field of knowledge In result, the *Madrasahs* remained in the darkness of Greek philosophy turning their faces from the deep and wide study of the Quran and Hadith They were satisfied with study only the *Mishkat al-Masabih* and *Mashariq al-Anwar* From the books of Hadith It is seemed that they neither accepted the advises of Mujaddid Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d 1034H/1624) and Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dihlawi (d 1052H/1642) nor benefited by their instructions for studying the Quran and *Sunnah* On the other hand the jurists (*fuqaha*) considered the books of *fiqh* and *fatawa* of their own *mazhab* exalted as the holy Quran and exposing any kind of doubt in any judicial opinion recorded in those books considered as disbelief (*kufir*). " ³

In connection of Islamic educational condition of eighteenth century Shaikh `Ubaidullah Mubarakpuri stated that if there was any thing in the name of education of Hadith that was subordinate to the prevailing *fiqh* The Hadith was not recited except in the gatherings of admonition and story telling or in

¹ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz , op cit p 82

² - Ibid, p 83

³ - Mas ud Alam Nadwi, op cit , pp 131- 32

supporting of the certain *mazhabs* of *fiqh* without distinct between sound and weak of them ¹

Hinting at the influence of Greek philosophy Shah Waliullah said that these days the logical argumentation (*burhan*) has been spread because of mixing the Greek knowledge The nation has involved with the scholasticism (*kalam*) so much that every opinion of them relating to faith (*ʿaqida*) is mingled with logical argumentation ²

Hakim Sayed Abdul Hai has given a brief note on classical education system of Muslim India in different ages classifying it into four steps, those are

First step From the beginning of 7th century to 9th century of *Hijra* (13th to 15th CE) covering two hundred years The preferable subjects of these times were *Nahu* (Arabic Grammar), *Balaghah* (Rhetoric), *Fiqh*, *Usul -i- Fiqh*, *Mantiq* (Logic), *Kalam* (Scholasticism), *Tasawuf* (Mysticism), and *Tafsir* The most important subjects of that time were Logic and *Hikmat* (Metaphysics) and the capital of the learned of that period was *Fiqh* Therefore, the number of *Fatawa* (judicial opinions) and *riwayat* (transmissions) exceedingly increased No body of them ever bothered further justify, examine or reconcile them with the Quran and *Sunnah* Their highest book in Hadith was *Mashariq al- Anwar* of Al-Saghani (d 650H/1252) If any one of them read *Mishkat al- Masabih* of Imam Al- Baghawi (510H/1117) he believed that he reached the stage of scholars of Hadith That happened due to their ignorance in Hadith ³

Second step From the ending of 9th century H (15th CE in the reign of Lodhis) In these times the speculative sciences spread all over the country and

¹ - Ubaidullah Mubarakpuri, *Mir at al- Mafatih Sharh Mishkat al- Masabih*, Al- Jamiah al- Sala fiyah, Banaras, 1985, Vol I, p 3 (introduction)

² - At- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , pp 1/ 82- 83

³ - Hakim Abdul Hai, op cit , pp 11- 12

Al- Matali` and *Al-Mawaqif* of `Azduddin Al- Eiji, *Miftah al- `Ulum* of Al- Sakkaki, *Sharh al- Matali`* and *Sharh al-Mawaqif* of Sayid Sharif Al- Jurjani, *Sharh al-`Aqaida* of Al- Taftazani, *Sharh al- Waqaya* of Sadr al- Shari`a, and *Sharh al- Kafiyah* of Mulla Jami have been included in the syllabus.

Third step · During the course of 10th to 12th century H. (16th to 18th C E) · In this period the learneds have delved deep into the logic and metaphysics and extended all corners of India. Abdus Salam Devi, Muhibbullah Sadarpuri, Qutbuiddin Sahalawi were the leading scholars in this age. In this period latest Iranian speculative sciences and books officially included in the syllabus¹

Fourth step : In this period the syllabus of Mulla Nizamuddin Sahalawi (d.1748CE.) has been adopted in the educational institutions and which is generally followed in the classical *Madrasah* education in Indian sub-continent till to day.²

Considering the importance of the syllabus of Nizamuddin which has a common influence on *Madrasah* education in Indian sub-continent we are going to mention the subjects which have been included in that syllabus, those are as bellow :

Sarf (Morphology): *Mizan*, *Munsha`ib*, *Panj Gonj*, *Zubdah*, *Sarf Mir*, *Fusul Akbari* and *Al- Shafiya*.

Nahu (Arabic grammar and composition) : *Nahu Mir*, *Sharh Miat `Amil*, *Hidayat al - Nahu*, *Kafiah*, and *Sharh Mulla Jami*.³

Balaghah (Rhetoric): *Mukhtasar al- Ma`ani* and *Al- Mutawal* of Sa`duddin Al- Taftazani.

¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai, op cit , pp 13- 15, Mas`ud Alam Nadwi , op cit , 131 , supra , pp.18- 19

² - Hakim Abdul Hai, pp 15- 17 Mas`ud Alam Nadwi , p 131, A A Rizvi , op cit , pp 388- 89, 391

³ - Hakim Abdul Hai, p 16

Mantic (Logic): Al- Sughra, Al- Kubra, Eisagujzi, Tahzib, Sharh Tahzib , Quthbi, Mir Quthbi , Sullam al- `Ulum , and Mir Zahid.

Hikmat (Metaphysics): Sharh Hidayat al- Hikmah (Sadra) of Mubaizi , Sharh Hidayat al- Hikmah of Sadruddin Shiraji and Shams al- Bazigha of Jaunpuri

Riyadhiyat (Mathematics). Khulasat al- Hisab , Tahrir Uqlidis , Tashrih al- Aflak and Sharh Chagmini.

Fiqh (Jurisprudence). Sharh Waqaiyah and Hidayah.

Usul Fiqh (Science of Fiqh): Nur al- Anwar , Al- Talvih and Musallam as- l'hubut.

Kalam (Scholasticism) : Sharh `Aqayid Nasafiyah of Taftazani , Sharh `Aqayid of Dawani and Sharh al- Mawaqif of Mir Zahid Harawi.

Tafsir : Tafsir al- Jalalain and Tafsir al- Baidhawī till Surah al- Baqarah.

Hadith : Mishkat al- Masabih up to part of Jum`ah.¹

Munazarat (Arbitration and Argumantation) : Al- Rashidiyah.²

The eighteenth century was known as a period of political and social dissettelment in the one hand but on the other hand it was marked as a golden age of *mazhab* and literature.³ This century was the good period for the improvement of Urdu poetry. Reciting the poems, criticism and *musha`ira* (competition of recitation of poems) also developed.⁴ In spite of common weakness of Islamic education in opposition to speculative sciences there were many scholars, experts in all branches of arts and sciences

¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai, op cit , p 16, A A Rizvi, op cit , pp 390- 91

² - Ibid, p 16

³ - Professor Azduddin Khan, op cit , p 78

⁴ - A A Rizvi, op cit , pp 189- 90

and penmen available in eighteenth century. The *Madrasah* were full of learners and spiritual teachers used to teach in their *Khanqas* (hospices) ¹

Some of those scholars and penmen were, Ahmad bin Abu Sa'eed alias Mulla Jeevan of Amethi (d.1130H./1718), the author *Nur al-Anowar* and *Tafsir Ahmadi*, Mulla Hamdullah of Sandila (d.1160H./1747) who wrote *Sharh Sullam* or *Bihamdillah*, Muhammad Hasan alias Mulla Hasan (d.1199H./1758) of fringi Mahal, Maulana Rustam Ali of Kannuj (d.1178H./1763), Shaikh Sifatullah of Khairabad (d.1157H./1747), Shaikh Ali Asgar of Kannuj (d.1140H./1727), Maulana Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami (d.1200H./1786), Maulana Ghulam Ali Naqshbandi of Lucknow (d.1126H./1714), Qazi Muhibbullah Bihari (d.1119H./1707), author of *Sullam al-'Ulum* and *Musallam al-Thubut*, Qazi Mubarak of Goopa Mau (d.1162H./1749) author of *Sharah Sullam* also known as Qazi, Maulana Muhammad Ali of Thana Bhawan, author of *Kashshaf Istilahat al-Funun* (a unique work of its kind), and lastly Mulla Nizamuddin of Lucknow (d.1161H./1748) who compiled the syllabus which was readily adopted by all educational institution of India and central Asia.²

In the field of *Tasawuf* and spiritual teaching and guidance the most prominent were Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janna (d.1195 H./1781), an eminent Shaikh of the *Naqshbandi* order,³ Sayed Abdur Razzaq of Bansa (d.1136 H./1724), the spiritual guide of Mulla Nizamuddin of Dars-i-Nizami fame, represented the *Qadiriya* order, Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi (d.1140H./1728) and Shah Fakhruzzaman of Delhi (d.1199 H./1785) the distinguish mentors of *Chishtiya* order. Other famous *Sufi* guides were Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Lahore (d.1154H./1741) of *Qadiriya* order, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abid of Sunnam (d.1160H./1747), Khawaja Muhammad Nasir Andalib (d.1172H./1758), and Shah Nur Muhammad (d.1134H./1723), all belonging to the *Naqshbandiya* order.⁴

¹ - Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, op cit , 22, 37

² - Ibid, pp 37- 38, A A Rizvi , op cit , pp 386- 389, Hakim Abdul Hai, op cit , pp 14- 15, 17

³ - A A Rizvi, pp 318- 341, Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, p 38

⁴ - A A Rizvi , pp 319- 378, Abul Hasan Nadwi, pp 38- 39

Shah Waliullah as an unparalleled educationist of his times observed the condition of Islamic education deeply and commented, "It is disturbing me that I am living in a period of ignorance and conventional rigidity and following the personal wish and pleasure of every one with his own ill-opinion, and the fact is that the contemporayness is the basis of dislike"¹ Shah Waliullah neither compromised with the situation nor kept silence but took the matter as a challenge and tried his best to change the prevailing educational condition and gave a special importance to study the Quran and *Sunnah* as well as he presented some methods of teaching for the teachers²

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit , introduction, p 27, "و يشعلني أني هي رمان الجهل والعصية واتباع الهوى واعجاب كل امرئ بأرائه الرديئة ، وان المعاصرة أصل المنافرة"

² - For details see infra, Chapter II, Section III, (Relating to teaching life of the Shah), pp 47- 53

Chapter II

Biographical Sketch of Shah Waliullah

Section I- Ancestors of Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah Dihlawi Descended on his father's side from `Umar bin Khattab (R)¹ the second Caliph of Islam According to many writers his lineage on the mother side is traced to `Alī (R),² the fourth Caliph of Islam Hakim Mahmud Barakatī mentioned that Shah Muhammad `Ashiq (d 1187H) the maternal cousin of Shah Waliullah was the descendant of Abu Bakr Siddiq (R)³ So, Shah Waliullah's mother descended from Abu Bakr Siddiq (R) Whatever the case may be, Shah Waliullah did not mention in his any book whether he was `Alawī or Siddiqī from his mother side And whoever refers the matter to his books he seems to be wrong His genealogical table which has given by himself is as mentioned bellow

Shah Waliullah bin Shaikh Abdur Rahīm bin Wajīhuddīn bin Mu`azzam bin Mansur bin Ahmad bin Mahmud bin Qawamuddīn alias Qadhī Qaden bin Qadhī Qasem bin Qadhī Kabīr alias Qadhī Budh bin Abdul Malik bin Qutbuddīn bin Kamaluddīn bin Shamsuddīn Muftī bin Sher Malik bin Muhammad `Ata Malik bin Abul Fath Malik bin Umar Hakim Malik bin Adil Malik bin Faruq bin Jarjis bin Ahmad bin Muhammad Shahriyar bin Uthman bin Humayun bin Quraish bin Solaiman bin `Affan bin `Abdullah bin

¹ - Shah Waliullah, *Anfas al-Arifin* (Part Al-Imdad fi Ma thir al-Ajdad) Urdu tr by Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri, introduction by Prof Muhammad Sarwar, Maktaba al-Falah, Deoband, 1393 H, p 331, "سلسلہ نسب این فقیرین دامیر المؤمنین عمر بن الخطاب میرسد", Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, *Ithaf al-Nubala al-Muttaqin bi-Akhbari Ma thir al-Fuqaha wal-Muhaddithin*, Matba Nizami, Kanpur, 1288 H p 428

² - G N Jalbani, *Life of Shah Waliyullah*, Idarah -i- Adabiyat, Delhi, 1980, p 4, A D Muztar op cit p 14, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, p 126, Prof Yasīn Mazhar Siddiqi, *Shah Waliullah Dehlawi - An Introduction to His Illustrious Personality and Achievements*, Aligarh, 2001, p 8, J M S Baljon *Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi*, Leiden, 1986, p 1, Muhammad Sarwar *Essav Shah Waliullah Tarikhi Pas Manzar*, Al-Rahim Journal, Hyderabad, Pakistan, Vol 1, No 4 1963 p 9

³ - Hakim Mahmud Ahmad Barakatī, *Shah Waliullah aur unka Khandan*, Maktaba Jamī a, Delhi 1992, p 73

Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Umar bin al- Khattab ¹ According to this table Shah Waliullah's genealogical chain reaches to 'Umar Faruq (R) with thirty mediators ²

In view of the above mentioned genealogical table a question has been raised by some scholars ³ that is, none of the sons of Abdullah bin Umar was Muhammad ⁴ as mentioned by Shah Waliullah

In answer, it may be said that the biographers are not unanimous in the number and names of sons of Abdullah bin 'Umar (R) ⁵ It is quite possible that there was a son of him named Muhammad and Shah Waliullah found it by any source in any reference accepted to him or there might have been an omission of a name between Muhammad and Ibn 'Umar which had not been mentioned in the statement of Shah Waliullah Hafiz Ibn Hajar al- Asqalani (d 852H /1449) Stated that, the grand son of 'Abdullah bin Umar named Muhammad bin Zaid bin 'Abdullah had transmitted some Hadiths from his grand father Abdullah bin 'Umar ⁶

¹ - Anfas al- Arifin, op cit , p 330

² - Nawab Siddiqu Hasan Khan, Ithaf al-Nubala, op cit , 428

³ - Professor Ayub Qadiri, Urdu tr of al- Imdad fi Ma thir al- Ajdad of Shah Waliullah, in al- Rahim Journal, Vol IV, May 1967, p 830, A D Muztar, op cit , 219- 20 , Dr Sa ud Alam Qasimi Hazrat Shah Waliullah Muhaddith Dihlawi ki Qurani fikr ka Mutala ah , Islamic Foundation Delhi, 1994, p 42

⁴ -With reference to the Tabaqat Ibn Sa ad and Tahzib al- Tahzib of Hafiz Ibn Hajar Asqalani Ayub Qadiri and A D Muztar (ref , above mentioned) stated that Abdullah bin Umar (R) had twelve sons They were Abu Bakr, Abu Ubaidah, Waqid, Abdullah, Umar, Abdur Rahman, Salim Ubaidullah , Hamzah , Zaid , Bilal and Abu Salamah

After investigation it has been found that Ibn Sa ad claimed twelve sons of Ibn Umar but mentioned the name of thirteen sons of him along with Qilabah (Muhammad bin Sa ad Al- Tabaqat al-Kubra, Dar Sadir, Beirut, 1377H /1957, Vol 4, p 142) But neither Ayub Qadiri nor A D Muztar observed the fact Moreover, Hafiz Ibn Hajar did not mention the names of all sons of Ibn Umar but he mentioned only seven of them particularly who transmitted Hadith from their father Abdullah bin Umar, those are Bilal, Hamzah, Zaid, Salim, Abdullah Ubaidullah and Umar (Hafiz Ibn Hajar, Tahzib al-Tahzib, Ihiya al- Turath al- Arabi, Beirut, 1413 H /1993 Vol 3 p 213)

Dr Sa ud Alam Qasimi with reference to Jamharat Ansab al-Arab of Imam Ibn Hazm said that Abdullah bin Umar had twelve sons (Shah Waliullah Dihlawi Ki Qurani Fikr ka Mutala ah p 42) Actually Ibn Hazm mentioned thirteen sons of him including Uthman and Abu Ubaid (not Abu Ubaidah) and excluding Abu Salamah and Qilabah from the list of Ibn Sa ad (Abu Muhammad Ali Ibn Hazm, Jamharat Ansab al- Arab, Dar al- Ma arif, Egypt, 1948 p 143)

⁵ - See foot note no 4

⁶ - Hafiz Ibn Hajar, Tahzib al- Tahzib, Vol 3, p 213

Shaikh Shamsuddin *Mufti* was first among ancestors of Shah Waliullah who migrated to India from another country¹ and took up residence at Rohtak² He was the first of the Quraishites who settled in the town and contribute to Islamization of the city He was a learned, pious, perfect of spirit and pure hearted man Though he did not hold a formal appointment of *muftiship* (official expounder of Islamic law) from the government, in recognition of his profound learning, he was accepted as the *mufti* or consulting judge of the town He was a high ranked *mystic* and performed a number of miracles in his time Even his death was a miraculous, that is his corpse had disappeared from the bier³ It is said that Shamsuddin *Mufti* opened a school at Rohtak and used to taught the people the Islamic learnings⁴

After his death his son Kamaluddin *Mufti*, grand son Qutbuddin and great grand son Abdul Malik succeeded him in his seat of learning and spent their lives as seeker of the Islamic knowledge *Qadhi* Budh son of Abdul Malik was appointed *qadhi* of Rohtak After his death *Qadhi* Qasim succeeded his father in his office His son *Qadhi* Qaden succeeded his father, after his death his son Shaikh Mahmud succeeded him in the post of *qadhi*, but resigned from the post and joined the army and passed his life in the cantonments⁵

¹ - He migrated to India from Iran (Fazl -i- Haq Khair Abadi, *Al- Thaurah al- Hindiyah*, Urdu tr and ed by Abdush Shahid Khan Shirwani, entitled *Baghi Hindustan*, Bijnore, 1947, pp 12- 13 The statement supported by Iranian names of some ancestors of Shah Waliullah, like Humayun Shahryar etc (A D Muztar, op cit, pp 12-13) He might have migrated to India by the end of the seventh century or in the initial decades of the eighth century of Hijrah (Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, pp 46-47) Or in the thirteenth century soon after the Muslim conquest of Delhi (A A Rizvi, op cit, p 203) As for Professor Muhammad Yasin Mazahar Siddiqui the family of Shah Waliullah moved from Madinah to Yeman at an unspecified date and migrated to India in the early phase of the Sultante period, i e in thirteenth century (Shah Waliullah Dehlavi- An Introduction to His Illustrious Personality and Achievements, op cit, p 8)

² - Rohtak About thirty miles west of Delhi at the time (A A Rizvi, p 202, A D Muztar, Muztar, p 13) in the district of Haryana, (Sa ud Alam Qasimi, op cit, p 42)

³ - Anfas al- Arifin, op cit, p 331

⁴ - Rahim Bakhsh, *Hayat -i- Wali*, Matba Salafiya, Lahore, 1374H/1955, p 10, Abu Yahya Imam Khan Nawshahravi, *Tarajim Ulama - i - Hadith Hind*, Riyadh Brothers, Lahore, 1992, p 7

⁵ - Till the end of the tenth century this dynasty resided in the buildings near the fort (Qila) of Khurd in Rohtak which latter was called 'Mahalla Chishtiya' (Sa ud Alam Qasimi, p 43)

Shaikh Mahmud married a girl of a Sayid family of Sonipath and had a son named Shaikh Ahmad. Shaikh Mahmud died when his son Ahmad still a lad. The orphan child was brought up by Shaikh Abdul Ghani bin Abdul Hakim of Sonipath.¹ Later on he married the daughter of Shaikh Abdul Ghani and came back to Rohtak again and constructed a new building outside the fort of Rohtak.² His son Shaikh Mansur passed his life as a soldier.³ His son Shaikh Mu'azzam was a *mansabdar* at the Mughal court⁴ and held the *jagir* of Shaikhpur. Shaikh Mu'azzam was a man of calm, cool and quite disposition. Strong, dauntless valour and highmindedness which the Shaikh possessed were mentionable long after his death by the people who lived in his *jagir*. Shaikh Mu'azzam married the daughter of Sayid Nurul Jabbar of Sonipath. He was survived by three sons: Shaikh Jamal, Shaikh Firoz and Shaikh Wajihuddin.⁵

The last mentioned Shaikh Wajihuddin was the grand father of Shah Waliullah. He was a man of courage as well as known for his piety. He held a high rank in the army of king Shahjahan (1627-57) and sided with prince Aurangzib in the war of succession that started among the sons of the king in 1657. In the battle of Khajwa (1659)⁶ which was fought between Aurangzib and his brother Shah Shuja', Shaikh Wajihuddin made singular show of intrepidity, subsequently saved Aurangzib and then Aurangzib defeated Shah Shuja'. After the victory, Aurangzib offered to promote to a high rank but the Shaikh refused to accept it.⁷

Apart from being a soldier, Shaikh Wajihuddin was a *sufi* and used always to recite two parts of the holy Quran everyday. He was courteous and kind to his servant and poor.⁸ At the old age in a journey he was attacked by a gang of robbers. Then he drew his sword and fought to the last reciting

¹ - It happened during the reign of the King Akbar (1556- 1604), (A D Muztar, op cit, p 15)

² - Anfas al- Arifin, op cit, p 334, A D Muztar, p 16

³ - It is presumed that he served under the King Jahangir (1605- 1627), (A D Muztar, ibid p 16)

⁴ - Probably at the court of the King Shahjahan (1627- 57), (A D Muztar, p 16)

⁵ - Anfas al- Arifin, p 336

⁶ - Khajwa In the district of Fatehpur

⁷ - Anfas al- Arifin, pp 337- 343

⁸ - Ibid, pp 338

lakhn (glorifying Allah) and received twenty two wounds in combat with them and died and buried there ¹ Shaikh Wajihuddin was the last man of the family who adopted government service as a profession ² Shaikh Wajihuddin had married the daughter of Shaikh Rafi'uddin, the disciple of Khawaja Baqi Billah ³ There were three sons of Shaikh Wajihuddin, Those were Shaikh Abur Ridha ⁴ Shaikh Abdur Rahim and Shaikh Abdul Hakim ⁵

Shaikh Abdur Rahim was the father of Shah Waliullah On account of his great achievement in exoteric and esoteric sciences he became most distinguished of the three brothers

Shaikh Abdur Rahim was born in 1054 H/1644 ⁶ He received his education from his elder brother Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad and studied under him *Sharh 'Aqaid Nasafiyah*, *Hashiya Khiyali* and some other books He took instructions from Mir Zahid Harawi (d 1690) ⁷ in *Sharh al- Mawaqif* and other books of *fiqh*, *usul*, philosophy and scholasticism ⁸ In mysticism he was guided by Khawaja Hafiz Sayid Abdullah Naqshbandi, ⁹ Khawaja Khurd bin Khawja Baqi Billah, Khawja Abdullah Akbarabadi and then Khalifa Abul Qasim Akbarabadi He was the supporter of Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi (d 638 H / 1240) and believer in his thought of *wahdat al- wujud* (unity of being or ontological monism) ¹⁰ with preferring Naqshbandi order ¹¹ Shaikh Abdur Rahim

¹ - The name of the place is Nunbaria, which is situated about two or three stages towards Delhi from the river Narbada (A D Muztar, op cit, p 23)

² - Anfas al- Arifin, op cit, pp 345- 46

³ - Shaikh Rafiuddin The son of Qutb -i- Alam bin Shaikh Abdul Aziz Al- Bahr al- Mawaj alias Shahrbar - a notable mystic (Anfas al- Arifin, pp 344, 354- 55)

⁴ - Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad He was a learned man, good orator and expert teacher He used to deliver lectures on Tafsir al- Baidhawi and Mishkat al- Masabih He was a great Sufi and firm believer in the doctrine of *wahdat al- wujud* (Ibid, pp 193- 329), He died in 1101H / 1689 (ibid, p 329, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, p 53, Rahim Bakhsh, op cit, pp 320- 331)

⁵ - Anfas al- Arifin, p 344

⁶ - His date of birth calculated from the date of his death, which happened in 1113 H, then he was seventy years old (Abul Hasan Nadwi, p 54, A D Muztar, p 24)

⁷ - Mir Zahid Harawi was then the Muhtasib (Public moral censor) of Agra in the reign of Aurangzib

⁸ - Anfas al- Arifin, pp 89- 9, Rahim Bakhsh, p 211

⁹ - Ibid, p 40- 82

¹⁰ - Ibid, pp 181- 82 For details of *wahdat al- wujud* see infra, chapter III, section III, pp 21- 27.

¹¹ - Ibid pp 63- 64

studied medicine and practiced it also¹ He was one of the scholars who selected for compilation of *Fatawa Alamgiriya*² but latter on he resigned from the board of compiler.³

He morally followed the *Hanafi fiqh* (law) but in certain particular matters he used to act on his own understanding of the *Hadiths* or in accordance with the dictates of other *mazhabs* (juristic schools). Such exceptions included recitation of *Surah al-Fatiha* in congregational prayers (behind *Imam*) and in funeral prayers (*janaza*).⁴ Shaikh Abdur Rahim's historical work was to establish a *Madrasah* in Delhi.⁵ It was situated near Kotla Firoz Shah in the Quarter of Mahandiyan where he lived. The *Madrasah* was known after his death as *Madrasah -i- Rahimiya*.⁶

Shaikh Abdur Rahim married twice. His first wife, who died a year or so before his death,⁷ bore him a son named Salahuddin.⁸ He married for second time at the age of sixty, the daughter⁹ of Shaikh Muhammad Phulati,¹⁰

¹ - Anfas al- Arifinn, op cit , pp 107, 189

² - There were twenty one members of the compiling board of Fatawa Alamgiriya (Al-Thaqafah al- Islamiyah fil- Hind, op cit , p 111)

³ - Anfas al- Arifin , p 75

⁴ - Ibid, p 157, Abul Hasan Nadwi , op cit pp 56- 57, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit , p 89

⁵ - Shah Waliullah has mentioned the Madrasah in his Al- Juz al- Latif fi Tarjamat al- Abd al- Dha'if (with sat'at), Matba' Ahmadi , Delhi, n d p.26- 27, Shah Abdul Aziz also mentioned the Madrasah without name (Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit., p 84)

⁶ - Rahim Bakhsh, op cit , pp 267, 414, 417, Hakim Mahmud Barakati , Shah Waliullah aur unka Khandan, op cit , pp 41- 43

⁷ - Anfas al- Arifin, p 404, A D Muztar, op cit , p 35

⁸ - Ibid, pp 144- 45, A D Muztar, p 35

⁹ - Her name was Fakhrun Nisa (A D Muztar, p 35, Hakim Mahmud Barakati , p 54, Prof Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, op cit , p 9)

¹⁰ - Shah Muhammad Phulati He was the maternal grand father of Shah Waliullah and resided at Phulat He was a spiritual sucessor of Shaikh Jalal and Sayid Adam Binnauri and initially educated by Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad and then completed his learnings under Shaikh Abdur Rahim and devoted himself to spiritual exercise and died in 1125 H /1713 (Anfas al- Arifin (Al- Atiyah al- Samadiyah), pp 358- 373 Some writers stated that Shah Abdur Rahim married the daughter of Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad (d 1101H/1689) and Shah Waliullah was born from her (Abdul Halim Chishti, Fawaid -i- Jami'ah bar 'Ujala -i- Nafi ah (of Shah Abdul Aziz), Karachi , 1383 H /1964, p 276, Imam Khan Nawshahravi, op cit , p 9) Undoubtedly this is a wrong information and great mistake Because Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad was the elder brother of Shaikh Abdur Rahim, then how he could marry the daughter of his own brother ?

one of his disciples¹ She gave birth two sons² Shah Waliullah and Shah Ahlullah³

Shaikh Abdur Rahim did not write so many books except he was the member of compilation board of *Iatawa Alamgiriya*⁴ and a collection of his letters has been arranged and edited by his son Ahlullah Phulati⁵ It was published by Mujtabai press, Delhi in 1915 CE It is reported that he translated into Persian a book of Taj Sambhli named *Al-Risalah fi Suluk Al-Sadat al-Naqshbandiya*⁶ Hakim Abdul Hai mentioned that there was a book in *Haqiq* (dogmatics) written by Shaikh Abdur Rahim named *Khawas -i- Asma wa Avat*⁷

Shaikh Abdur Rahim died on Wednesday, 12th *Safar*, 1131 H (23rd December, 1718) when he was 77 years old⁸

¹ - Anfas al- Arifin, op cit , p 145

² - Ibid, pp 145- 46, Hakim Mahmud Barakatı ,op cit , pp 54 - 68

³ - Shah Ahlullah Phulati He was born in 1119 H /1707 CE at Phulat and educated under his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim and elder brother Shah Waliullah Along with religious knowledge he was an expert in medicine He died in 1186 H (Hakim Mahmud Barakatı pp 54- 60)

⁴ - See supra, p 34

⁵ - Hakim Mahmud Barakatı, pp 64- 65, A D Muztar, op cit , pp 34 - 35

⁶ - A D Muztar, p 35

⁷ - Nuzhat al- Khawatır, op cit , Vol 6, p 399

⁸ - Anfas al- Arifin, p 19, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit , p 60 A D Muztar mentioned the corresponding date of his death 4th January, 1719 (ibid , p 35) and J M S Baljon mentioned the date 1040 H /1719 (Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi, op cit , p 2) Undoubtedly this is a misinformation

Section II - Early Life and Education

Shah Waliullah was born at dawn on Wednesday, in 4th of *Shawal*, 1114H.¹ corresponding to 10th February, 1703.² at Phulat³ in the house of his maternal grand father. Some of his friends worked out, by the chronogramatical (*abjadī*) method, the name *`Azimuddin* as the date of birth.⁴

Shah Waliullah's birth was foretold to his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim in a vision and hinted that he will reach a high rank and achieve true renown.

¹ - Shah Waliullah, *Al-juz al-Latif*, op cit , p 24 As he stated "ولادت این فقیر روز چهارشنبه چهارم شوال مقارن طلوع شمس سنه اربع عشر از قرن دوازدهم واقع شد". Shah Abdul Aziz , the son of Shah Waliullah also stated the same, as he said "تاریخ تولد شاه ولی الله چهارم شوال" (Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 40)

Hakim Abdul Hai said that Shah Waliullah was born on 14th Shawal, 1114 H (Nuzhat al-Khawatir, op cit., Vol 6, p 399) Dr Muhammad Ishaq also mentioned the same date (India's Contribution to Hadith Literature, op cit , p 173) In opposition to Shah Waliullah and his son's statement no statement is acceptable here

² - The date calculated according to the 'Miftah al-Taqqim' of Habibur Rahman Khan Sabiri, Delhi, 1977, p 257 Dr Mazhar Baqa (Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 126) and Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi (Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit , p 69) have mentioned the same corresponding date

Many writers mentioned different corresponding dates A A Rizvi (op cit , p 213), A D Muztar (op cit , p 36), J M S Baljon (op cit , p 3) and Professor Yasin Mazhar Siddiqi (op cit , p 7) mentioned 21st February, 1703 Hakim Mahmud Barakati (op cit , p 19) , G N Jalbani (Teachings of Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 1, and Life of Shah Waliullah, Delhi, 1980, p 1) stated 4th Shawal, 1114 H/1702 without mentioning the corresponding day and month In the Encyclopedia of Islam (Netherland, ed 1970, Vol II, p 254) mentioned the year only and that is 1114 H/ 1703 and Aziz Ahmad (op cit , p 201) mentioned only the corresponding year and that is 1703

³ - Phulat A small town (qaryah) in the district of Muzaffar Nagar, UP, 60 miles distance from Delhi (Hakim Mahmud Barakati, p 58) and twenty miles to the north of Meerut (A D Muztar, p 36)

Almost biographers mentioned the Phulat as the birth place of Shah Waliullah As like G N Jalbani, Life of Shah Waliullah, p 5, Hakim Mahmud Barakati, p 58, Abul Hasan Nadwi p 69, Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 126, A D Muztar, p 36, A A Rizvi, p 213, Dr Sa'ud Alam Qasimi, op cit , p 40 (with reference to Anfas al-Arifin, Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi, p 193) and J M S Baljon, p 3

In the other statement of Jalbani he said that Shah Waliullah's birth place was in the vicinity of Delhi (Teachings of Shah Waliullah, p 1) Dr Ishaq stated that the Shah was born at Delhi (p 173) The Encyclopaedia of Islam (Vol II, p 225) also recorded his place of birth at Delhi This statement seems to be wrong Hinting at Phulat The Shah himself said "In my small town (qaryah)" (Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, op cit , p 2/15) The Shah stated that on the day of his birth his maternal grand father carried the new born child in his arms (Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, p 2/179) Hakim Mahmud Barakati stated that the birth room of Shah Waliullah at Phulat is preserved till to day It is opened one time in a year Barakati visited the place twice in 1943 and 1951 (ibid, p 58)

⁴ - Al-Juz al-Latif, op cit , p 26. Actually Azimuddin is equal to 1115 not 1114 (Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 126, Dr Sa'ud Alam Qasimi, p 40, and Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri, Urdu tr of Anfas al-Arifin of Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 403) Sayid Qadiri said that there were near about three months only remained for entering the year 1115 H, therefore said Azimuddin equal to 1114 H (ibid, p 403)

One day when Shaikh Abdur Rahim was visiting the mausoleum of Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (d 634H /1236), the Khawaja informed him in vision that a son would be born to him and that he should give him name Qutbuddin Ahmad Shaikh Abdur Rahim was then nearly sixty years old and his wife had reached the age of sterility Then he intended to a second marriage and his disciple Shaikh Muhammad Phulati¹ gave his daughter² to him When Shah Waliullah was born from this mother his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim forgot about the name of new born baby and thus he gave him the name Waliullah Latter on when he recalled it to his memory renamed him as Qutbuddin Ahmad³ In the begining of his many books the Shah mentioned his name as Ahmad⁴ Abdullah was his self adopted name⁵ Abul Faiyadh was the name with which he was remembered in the world of divinity (*`Alam Malakut*)⁶ and lastly Abu Muhammad was his filionymic (*kunyat*)⁷

Shah Waliullah was grown up under his father's direct tutorship, guidance and supervision His father was very kind to him and was his spiritual teacher also⁸ His father used to in a way that his words sank into the heart of listener Once the Shah wasted his day in sight-seeking with his friends On his return his father said, "Waliullah! did you anything of lasting value during these hours"? The Shah said that he recited *Durud*⁹ so many times that day From that day he lost all interest in excursions and thereafter never wasted time in that manner¹⁰ The Shah instructed by his father in a

¹ - Shah Muhammad Phulati See supra, p 34

² - Her name was Fakhrun Nisa, supra, p 34

³ - Anfas Al- Arifin, op cit , p 110, Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 2/154

⁴ - As he usually says "أحمد المعروف بولي الله بن عبد الرحيم", Hujjatullah al- Baligha op cit , introduction, p 23, Al-Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, introduction, p 9, Al- Fadhl al- Mubin fil Musalsal min Hadith al- Nabī al- Amin, Matba Nur al- Anwar, Arah, 1292H , p 2, Al- Durr al-Thamin fi Mubashshrat al-Nabī al-Amin, with Urdu tr and annotation Matba Ahmadi Delhi 1899, p 2, Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat Ilm al- Isnad , Matba Ahmadi, 1307H , p 2, Al- Musauwa with Musaffa, Kutub Khana Rahimiya Delhi 1346H introduction p 21 Al- Musauwa Sharh al-Muw-atta, op cit , introduction, p 62

⁵ - A D Muztar, op cit , p 37

⁶ - Anfas al- Arifin, p 185, G N Jalbani, Life of Shah Waliyullah, op cit , p 13, A D Muztar p 37

⁷ - Because, the name of his first son was Muhammad, Hakim Barakati, op cit p 97 G N Jalbani p 7, A D Muztar, p 37

⁸ - Al- Juz al- Latif, op cit , p 27

⁹ - Durud Allahumma Salli ala Muhammad (Prophet) and this kind of sentences

¹⁰ - Anfas al- Arifin, p 146

very childhood in good character, all good conduct and following the sunnat of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).¹ He was circumcised at the age of seven and advised by his father to perform five time prayers and to observe the fast² Apart from performing five time prayers he also joined his parents in the *tahajjud prayer*.³

The circumstances in which Shah Waliullah grew up were highly influencive and favorable for learning. Moreover, the Shah was extra- ordinary intelligent and preserving student and divinely helped learned person His son Shah Abdul Aziz said that he had never seen a men with such a strong memory as his father, Shah Waliullah. He added that he had heard about such persons but never seen anyone like him.⁴ He further stated that , a man of great scholarship as he was, he was also diligent that when he sat down (to study and writing) after *ishraq* (sun - shining prayer) he neither moved from the place until it was mid - day nor itched not spat.⁵

Shah Waliullah reported that he obtained exoteric sciences like *Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh, `Aqida, Nahu, Sarf, Kalam, Usul, and Mantıq* from his father, Shaikh Abdur Rahim.⁶ He read the holy Quran (with recitation and intonation) from first to last according to the transmission of Hafs (d.246H./860) From `Asim (d.127H./745) under tutorship of *Haji Muhammad Fadhil Sindhi* (d 1145 H./1733).⁷ He awarded *yazat* (permission for transmission) for *Mishkat al-Masabih* and *Sahih al-Bukhari* along with other books of *Shah Sittah* (*Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, Tirmizi, Nasa'i and Ibn Majah*) from the trustworthy learned *Muhaddith Muhammad Afdhal Sialkoti* (d.1142H./1730).⁸

¹ - Al- Juz al- Latif, op cit , p 27

² - Anfas al- Arifin, op.cit., p 404, Al- Juz al- Latif, p 26

³ - Anfas al- Arifin, p 145

⁴ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 11

⁵ - Ibid, p 43

⁶ - Shah Waliullah, Al- Qaul al- Jamil, with Urdu tr , Khurram Ali, Maktaba Rahimiya, Lahore, n d p 223 As he said *و اما العلوم الظاهرة من التفسير والحديث والعقائد والنحو والصرف والكلام والأصول والمنطق فقد تعلمنا من سيدي الوالد رضي الله عنه*

⁷ - Shah Waliullah, Fathur Rahman fi Tarjamah al- Quran , Muqaddimah, Matba` Hashimi, Meerut, 1285 H, p 4, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit , p 131

⁸ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil, p 224

Shah Waliullah was admitted into the *Maktab* (primary religious school) at the age of his five years and finished the reading of the holy Quran at the age of seven within a year and started schooling in Arabic and Persian¹. After he had read the preliminary text-books he studied the *Kafiyah* (Arabic grammar) of *Ibn al-Hajib*. At the age of ten he began to study the *Sharh Mulla Jamu* (explanation of *Kafiyah*). The Shah stated that the study of these books had fitted him for going through other books by himself. The Shah studied a part *Tafsir al-Baidhawi* when he was fourteen and finished his schooling of the then prevalent curriculum at the age of fifteen years. His father invited a large number of guests to partake in a repast on that happy occasion and gave him *ijazat* (permission) for teaching. He studied under his own father a major portion of the *Mishkat al-Masabih*, a part of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Shamail Tirmizi*, *Tafsir Madarik al-Tanzil* and *Tafsir al-Baidhawi*. The Shah Stated that, it was a great grace of Allah on him that he attended the lectures delivered by his father on the exegesis of the Quran which helped him to understand the Quran in depth.²

Shah Waliullah has given in detail the syllabus he studied in India before his journey to *Hyaz* (1143H./1731), that is as under:³

Tafsir: A part of *Tafsir al-Baidhawi*⁴ and a part of *Tafsir Madarik al-Tanzil*.⁵
Hadith : *Mishkat al-Masabih*⁶ completely except from the part of *Buyu'* to the part of *Adab*. He has been given the permission for those excepted parts also. He

¹ - Al- Juz al- Latif, op cit , p 26

² - Ibid, p 27

³ - See Al- Juz al- Latif, p 27, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , Vol 6, p 399

⁴ - Abdullah bin `Umar al-Baidhawi (d 685H/1282) The name of his Tafsir is Anwar al- Tanzil wa Asrar al- Tawil

⁵ - The auther of Madarik al- Tanzil wa Haqaiq al- Tawil is Hafizuddin al- Nasafi (d 10H /1310)

⁶ - Mishkat al- Masabih A book of Hadith compiled by Waliuddin al- Tabrizi (d 737H)

studied *Sahih al- Bukhari* up to the part of *Taharah* and *Shamail al- Nabi* of *Tirmizi* completely.

Nahu (Arabic syntax): *Kafiyah*¹ and *Sharh Mulla Jami*.²

Fiqh (jurisprudence): *Sharh Waqayah*³ and *Hidayah*⁴ completely except a little part

Usul (science of jurisprudence): *Husami*⁵ and major portion of *al-fauidhih wa al-Talwih*.⁶

Suluk (*Tasawuf*). A part of *'Awarif al- Ma'arif*⁷ and a Part of *Risalah Naqshbandiya*.

Kalam (scholasticism): *Sharh al-'Aqaid*⁸ completely and certain part of the *Hashiya Khiyali*⁹ and *Sharh al- Mawaqif*.¹⁰

Mantiq (logic): Whole of *Sharh Shamsiyah*¹¹ and a portion from *Sharh al-Matali*.¹²

Haqaiq (dogmatics): *Sharh Ruba'iyat* and *Lawamih of Jami*,¹³ *Muqaddimah Sharh Lam'at*,¹⁴ *Muqaddimah Naqd al- Nusus*¹⁵ *Khawas -i- Asma wa Ayat*¹⁶

Hikmah (metaphysics): *Sharh Hidayat al- Hikmah*¹⁷ and few other treatises relating to the subject.

¹ - Work of Jamaluddin Ibn al- Hajib (d 646 H /1248)

² - Explanation of Kafiyah by Mulla Nuruddin Jami (d 1492 CE)

³ - Work of Mahmud al- Mahbubi (d 800 H /1397)

⁴ - Writing of Burhanuddin al- Murghinani (d 552 H /1196)

⁵ - Al- Muntakhab fi Usul al- Mazhab of Husamuddin al- Akhsikati (d 1247CE)

⁶ - The author of Tawdhih is Sadr al- Shari'ah Asghar Ubaidullah al- Bukhari (d 747 H /1346)

The writer of Talwih is Sa'duddin al- Taftazani (d 793H /1391)

⁷ - Work of Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (d 631 H / 1234)

⁸ - Text of the book written by Abu Hafs Umar al- Nasafi (d 537 H /1142) The Sharh of the book prepared by Sa'duddin al- Taftazani (d 793 H /1391)

⁹ - The marginal note on Sharh Aqaid written by Ahmad Khiyali

¹⁰ - Work of Sayid Sharif al- Jurjani (d 1371 C E) on the text of Al- Mawaqif fi 'Ilm al- Kalam of 'Azduddin al- Eiji (d 1355 C E)

¹¹ - The writer of Sharh Risalah Shamsiyah is Qutbuddin al- Tahtani (766 H /1364) The book also known as Risalah Qutbiyah The author of the text of Shamsiyah is Najmuddin al- Ka-tibi (d 682 H /1276)

¹² - Sharh Matali al- Anwar of Qutbuddin Razi (d 766 H /1364) and the author of the text Mata-tali' al- Anwar is Sirajuddin Armawi (d 682 H /1283)

¹³ - The author of Ruba'iyat and Lawaih is Nuruddin Jami (d 817 H /1414)

¹⁴ - Lam'at of Fakhruddin Iraqi (d 1289 CE)

¹⁵ - Work of Maulana Jami and the author of the text of al- Nusus is al- Qaunawi (d 1263 CF), the disciple of Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi

¹⁶ - Khawas -i- Asma wa Ayat of Shaikh Abdur Rahim, father of Shah Waliullah, (Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , Vol 6, p 399)

¹⁷ - Sharh Hidayat al- Hikmah of Shaikh Abhari (d 659 H /1261)

Ma`ani (rhetoric) A greater portion of *Mutauwal* and *Mukhtasar al-Ma`ani*
Hisab and Hindasa (arithmetic and geometry) Certain books relating to the subjects

Tibb (medicine) *Mujaz al-Qanun*²

Shah Waliullah was also initiated by his father into his spiritual order at the age of fourteen years. He instructed the Shah in the method of contemplation and self edification and also endued him robe (*khirqah*) of mystics. At the age of fifteen the Shah was formally taken *bai`at* (solemnization for spiritual guidance) by his father. He was garbed with the robes of *Sufis* whereupon he started practicing the mystic rites specially on *Naqshbandiyya* order in conjunction with his school studies. During his last illness Shaikh Abdur Rahim repeated the *bai`at* and permitted his son Shah Waliullah to enrol novices to his spiritual order and guide them³

Journey to Hijaz. Shah Waliullah stated, "More or less twelve years I struggled to study and teaching the religious and rational subjects. Then I had a great yearning to perform the *Hajj* and visiting the two holy Mosques. In 1143 H I was bestowed the opportunity for performing *Hajj*. In 1144 H I spent some time in both Makka and Madina and awarded *ijazat*⁴ from Shaikh Abu Tahir (d 1145H/1733) and other scholars and got the excellent companionship of learned of two sacred places (*Haramain*). I was given the *khirqah jami'ah* (special robe of sufism combining robes of all *sufi*-orders) from Shaikh Abu Tahir. In the end of the year I performed another *Hajj* and in the beginning of 1145 H proceeded to homeland and safely reached home on Friday, 14th *Rajab*, 1145 H"⁵

¹ - *Mutauwal* and *Mukhtasar* mean the detailed and summarized commentaries on *Talkhis al-Miftah* of Allama al-Qazvini. Both are the works of Sa duddin al-Taftazani (d 793H/1391)

² - *Mujaz al-Qanun* of Alauddin bin Nafis (d 693 H/1288). This book is the summary of Ibn Sina's famous medical book *al-Qanun*

³ - *Al-Juz al-Latif*, op cit, pp 27-28

⁴ - *Ijazat* Certificate or permission for transmission the Knowledge especially the Hadith

⁵ - *Al-Juz al-Latif*, p 27-28

The exact date on which Shah Waliullah left Delhi for *Hajj* is not been found in his own statement.¹ According to the report of Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullahi the Shah set out on journey on 8th *Rabi' al- Thani*, 1143 H.² Corresponding to 10th October, 1730.³ when he was 28 years 6 months and 4 days old according to the lunar calendar and 27 years 8 months old as per solar calendar.⁴ In this Journey he accompanied by some of his relatives and friends.⁵

Shah Waliullah reached Makka on 15th *Zulqa'dah*, 1143 H.⁶ corresponding to 11th May, 1731 CE.⁷ and returned home on Friday, 14th *Rajab*, 1145 H.⁸ corresponding to 20th December, 1732.⁹ The total period of his journey was 27 months and 6 days by the lunar and 26 months and 10 days by the solar calendar.¹⁰ Fourteen months (lunar) of that period he spent in *Hijaz*¹¹ and the

¹ - G N Jalbani, Life of Shah Waliullah, op cit., p. 24

² - Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullahi, Khatima -i- Tawil al- Ahadith, Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi, 1892, p 19, Hakim Mahmud Barakati, op. cit, pp. 12, 19, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, 129, Dr Fazle Muhammad, A study of life and works of Shah Waliullah, Lahore, 1972, p 13, J M S Baljon, op cit, p 5, A D Muztar, op cit, p 46

³ - Calculated based upon the book Miftah al- Taqwim, op. cit., p. 258 A D Muztar (ibid, p 46) and Baljon (ibid, p 5) mentioned the corresponding date 21st October, 1730

⁴ - According to his date of birth which was 04 10. 1114 H./10- 02- 1703

⁵ - They were Shaikh Ubaidullah Phulati (d. 1150 H), Shah's maternal uncle and father in law and Shaikh Muhammad Ashiq Phulati (d. 1187 H), Shah's cousin and brother in law (wife's brother) (Hakim Mahmud Barakati, op cit., p 46, Jalbani, Life of Shah Waliullah, p 27, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, p 87)

⁶ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, p 46.

⁷ - Calculated according to Miftah al- Taqwim, op. cit., p 258.

⁸ - Shah Waliullah, Al- Juz al- Latif, op.cit, p.28, Shah Waliullah said "اوائل سنة خمس و اربعين متوجه وطن شد، روز جمعه چهاردهم رجب در کنف صحت و سلامت بوطن رسید" Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan also mentioned the same date (Ithaf al- Nubala, op.cit., p. 429). Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi (ibid, p 76) and Dr. Sa'ud Alam Qasimi (op cit, p 46) mentioned the date of return of the Shah 10th Rajab, 1145 H) A D Muztar stated that the Shah returned to Delhi on Friday 16th Rajab, 1145 H, 2nd January 1733 CE He added that although the Shah stated 14th Rajab it is not correct, because the date does not fall on Friday but falls on Wednesday Therefore, we are bound to say that the date of return was 16th Rajab (ibid, p 47) A A Rizvi (op cit, p 215) and Baljon (op cit, p 5) mentioned the date 14th Rajab, 1145 H./31st December, 1732 Jalbani (ibid, p 30) said 14th Rajab, 1145 H/1732 and Hakim Mahmud Barakati (ibid, p 19) mentioned 14th Rajab, 1145 H/ 1733

⁹ - Calculated according to Miftah al- Taqwim, p 258)

¹⁰ - Calculated according to the above said descriptions based on the book Miftah al- Taqwim, p 258 A D Muztar stated based upon his description and calculation that total period of Shah's journey was 27 months and 8 days by lunar and 26 months and twelve days by the solar calendar (op cit, p 47)

¹¹ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op. cit, p. 93. Shah Abdul Aziz said, "چهارده ماه حرمین بود" "Hakim Abdul Hai stated that the Shah stayed in Haramain (Hijaz) completely two years, as he said, "فأقام بالحرمين عامين كاملين" (Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit, Vol 6, pp 399-400)

remaining 13 months and 6 days (lunar) have been spent in the onward and backward journey.¹

One of the basic purpose for his journey to the holy land besides the performing *Hajj* was to make there on exhaustive, advance and critical study of Hadith and jurisprudence of different *mazhabs*.²

Shah Waliullah's journey for the pilgrimage and staying in *Hijaz* is a land mark of crucial importance in his subsequent intellectual and reformative endeavour. During his stay in *Hijaz* which extended to a period of 14 months he undertook a deep study of the *Hadith* under the most erudite scholars which later on became the corner-stone of his revivalist campaign. His studies also helped him to equip himself in comprehending the secrets and wisdom of the *Shari'ah* to a degree not attained by anyone during the few hundred years in the past.³

In Makka, Shah Waliullah read whole of *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (d.179H./795) on the transmission (*rewaiah*) of Yahya bin Yahya al-Masmudi (d.234H./849) under Shaikh Muhammad Wafidullah Makki al-Maliki.⁴ He also granted a certificate of proficiency to the Shah in Hadith compilation of his father Shaikh Muhammad ben Sulaiman al-Maghribi(d.1110H.).⁵

Another scholar from whom Shah Waliullah received the instructions in *Hadith* was Shaikh Tajuddin al-Qala'i Hanafi (d.1144H./1733), who was the

¹ - Jalbani said that the Shah spent two years in the journey from and back to Delhi and he stayed for fourteen months in the holy land. Thus, there remain ten months in excess which might have been spent in the onward and backward journey (Life of Shah Waliullah, op cit., p 30). Professor Yasin Mazhar mentioned that his staying period in the two sacred cities was 14 months while it took him one year to undertake both the onward and return journey (op cit., p 14). Those were 14+12= 26 months.

² - Rahim Bakhsh, op cit., p 422, Jalbani, pp. 22- 23, A D Muztar, p 50

³ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit., p 75

⁴ - Shah Waliullah, *Insan al-'Ayn fi Mashaikh al-Haramain*, Matba' Muhtabai, Delhi, 1335H/1917, p 15, Shah Waliullah, *Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat 'Ilm al-Isnad*, ed and annotation by Muhammad Abduh Firozपुरi, Sajjad Publishers, Lahore, 1960, p 26, *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta*, op cit., p 65, Anfas al-Arifin, op cit., pp 385- 86, Shah Abdul Aziz Dihlavi, 'Ujala Nafi'ah, with Fawa'id Jami'ah, op cit., p 19

⁵ - *Insan al-'Ayn*, p 7, Anfas al-Arifin, p 385, *Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat al-Isnad*, p 26

then *mufti*¹ of Makka Mukarramah. With him the Shah read *Sahih al-Bukhari*, a part of *Muwatta* of Imam Malik, a few chapters of the *Musnad al-Darimi*; *Kitab al-A`thar* of Imam Muhammad (d 189H /804) and the *Muwatta* arranged by him.²

The most renowned and worth mentioned teacher of Shah Waliullah in Hijaz (Madina) was Shaikh Abu Tahir Shafi'i (d.1145 H./1733) bin Shaikh Ibrahim al-Kurdi (d.1101H./1690). He was an erudite and eminent scholar of *Hadith* as well as a *sufi* of high spiritual order.³ With this great scholar he read and reviced almost famous books of *Hadith*. At this time he was awarded the permission (certificate) to transmit those knowledes onward.⁴

Staying in *Madinah Munawarah* the Shah studied with Shaikh Abu Tahir Kurdi the important books of *Hadith* like *Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Sahih Muslim*, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, *Tirmizi*, *Nasa'i*, *Ibn Majah*, *Mishkat al-Masabih* and *Hisn Hasin* (of Muhammad ibn al-Jazari Shafi'i, (d.833H./1429)⁵ as well as *Muwatta* of Imam Malik, *Musnad Ahmad*, *Risalah* of Imam Shafi'i (d.204H./820) *Jami' al-Kabir*, *Musnad al-Darimi*, a part of *al-Adab al-Mufrad* of Imam Bukhari (d.194H./870) a part of *Al-Shifa* of Qadhi `Yiadh (d.544H./1149) and *al-Umam* of Shaikh Abu Tahir himself, and it happened in 1114 H.⁶

It was occurred that Shah Waliullah was instructed by Shaikh Abu Tahir in recital of *Hadith*, while Shaikh himself had benefited from the Shah in understanding their implied meaning.⁷

Shah `Abdul `Aziz stated that some times the teacher used to aske the Shah for describing the meaning of *Hadith*, and the teacher mentioned in his

¹ - Mufti Official expounder of Islamic law

² - *Insan al-Ayn*, op cit , pp 15- 16, *Anfas al-Arifin*, op cit , pp 401- 2, *Al-Irshad*, op cit ,pp 26- 27

³ - *Insan al-Ayn*, pp. 13- 14, *Anfas al-Arifin*, pp 396, 399- 400, *Al-Juz al-Latif*, op cit , p 28

⁴ - *Anfas al-Arifin*, pp 396- 400, *Al-Irshad*, p 22, "وقد أخذت معظم هذا الفن عن أبي طاهر محمد بن

"ابراهيم الكردي", *Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz*, op cot , p 93

⁵ - *Ujala -i- Nafi`ah*, op cit , pp 19- 23

⁶ - *Nuzhat al-Khawahir*, op.cit Vol 6, p 400

⁷ - Muhammad bin Yahya Muhsin Turhati, *Al-Yani` al-Jani*, Matba` Siddiqi, Delhi, 1287H p 117

certificate that he had (the Shah) received from me the certificate although he was better than me.¹

When Shah Waliullah sought leave of Shaikh Abu Tahir to return home the Shaikh recited the following couplet :

نسيت كل طريق كنت أعرفه * الا طريقا يودي الى ربكم

"I have forgotten all paths that I knew before except the path that leads to your quarter."²

In reply the Shah said, "Forgotten is whatever I had ever read except religious knowledge that means Hadith", then the Shaikh became very pleased.³ Shah Waliullah's subsequent life and his engagements bear testimony to the fact that he had spoken the truth. In this connection this Quranic verse is mentionable, "Of the believers are men who are true to that which they covenanted with Allah."⁴

Shah Waliullah's chain of Transmission of Hadith (*sanad*) has reached through the seven renowned leading teachers (*Mashikh*) of Haramain, those were: Shaikh Muhammad `Ala al-Babili (d.1077H.), Shaikh `Eisa al-Maghribi (d.1080H.), Shaikh Mhammad bin Sulaiman al-Radani al-Maghribi (d.1110H.), Shaikh Ibrahim bin Hasan al-Kurdi al-Madani (d.1101H.), Shaikh Hasan al-`Ajami (d.1113H.), Shaikh Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Nakhali Makki, Shaikh Abdullah bin Salim al-Basri Makki (d.1134H.).⁵

It may be noted here that Shah Waliullah during the period of his staying in *Hijaz* studied Hadith under the scholars of different *Sunni mazhabs* for quenching his thirst of learning of Hadith and subsequently the

¹ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit., p 93 As he stated بعض جا استاد مي فرمود معنی این حدیث تو بفرماد ، در سند اجازت نوشته سند از من کرد اگرچه به از من بهتر است."

² - Anfās al-Arifin, op cit , p 400, Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, p 93

³ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, p 93 As he stated " هرچه خوانده بودم فراموش کردم الا علم دین یعنی حدیث."

⁴ - Surah al-Ahzab, Ayat no 23

⁵ - Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat al-Isnad, op cit , pp 22-25 " قد اتصل سندی والحمد لله بسبعة من المشايخ.. "

jurisprudence with open heart and clear mind This made him generous , liberal, tolerant and respectful to every *Sunni mazhab* and prepared him for accepting the opinions of every *mazhab* which have been supported by the sound Hadith This mind and mentality have been grown in him during the twelve years deep study and teaching in *Madrasah -i- Rahimiyah* in Delhi before his journey to *Hijaz*.¹ After advanced study of Hadith and jurisprudence under the renowned scholars of different *mazhabs* in *Hijaz*, his former thought of satisfaction with *Fuqaha Muhaddithin* (jurists having scholarship of Hadith)² had been strengthened.

¹ - See infra, p 47

² - See infra, p 47

Section III - Teaching life

After completion his classical education in India¹ Shah Waliullah started his life as a teacher at the *Madrasah* established by his father, Shaikh Abdur Rahim,² and then he was fifteen years old. He helped his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim in teaching work for two years.³ When his father died (1131 H./ 1718) he was seventeen years old⁴ then he took over the charge of the *Madrasah* and started his teaching and research activities with added zeal and passion continuously twelve years.⁵ During these twelve years he studied and taught the students different religious and rational subjects, he got the opportunity to reflect over a variety of issues. With deep and wide study he became broad minded. The Shah said that after studying the *fiqh* and *usul* of four *mazhabs* and *Hadiths* from which they deduced those *fiqh* and *usul* and by the light of divine help his heart became satisfied with the method of jurists who depend on *Hadith* (*Fuqaha Muhaddithin*).⁶

On his return from Hijaz (1145H./1732) after obtaining advanced education from renowned scholars he rejoined the *Madrasah Rahimiyah* and started teaching the *Hadith* and *Tafsir*. Because of his journey to sacred places (*Haramain*) and obtaining certificates from the scholars of those places and his new methodology of teaching of *Hadith* and worthy lectures, his fame as a *Hadith* scholar spread far and wide and soon attracted a large number of students to him.⁷ Hakim Mahmud Barakati stated that the number of students of Shah Waliullah was very limited.⁸

¹ - For details of his education in India see supra, section II, pp 37- 41

² - The *Madrasah* was known as *Madrasah Rahimiyah*, supra, p 34

³ - Al- Juz al-Latif, op cit, p 27, A D Muztar, op cit., p 42

⁴ - Al- Juz al-Latif, p 27, A D Muztar, p 42, Sa'ud Alam Qasimi, op cit, pp 45-46 Jalbani stated that at the age of his fifteen his father fell ill and died (Life of Shah Waliyullah, op cit, p 14) This statement seems to be wrong, because the Shah was born on 4th Shawal, 1114H and his father died on 12th Safar, 1131 H

⁵ - Al- Juz al- Latif, p 27, عقليه و عقلية, " بعد از وفات حضرت ايشان دوازده سال کمال پيش بدرس کتب دينيه و عقليه

" مواظبت نمود. Rahim Bakhsh, op.cit, p 413, 417, Jalbani, p 14, Hakim Barakati, op cit, p 43

⁶ - Al Juz al- Latif, p 27 "وبعد ملاحظه کتب مذاهب اربعة و اصول فقه ايشان و احاديث که متمسک ايشان
است قرار داد خاطر بمدد نور غيبي روش فقهاء محدثين افتاد."

⁷ - Prof Yasin Mazhar, op cit, p 15, Zahiruddin Waliullahi, op cit, p 88

⁸ - Hakim Barakati, op cit, p 37

Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) despite his numerous faults and failing, provided a specious building to the Shah at Shahjahanabad ¹ for his *Madrasah* and residence, where he restarted teaching his students.²

Besides his teaching he used to train the selected graduate on teaching profession. Shah `Abdul `Aziz stated, "My father had trained a specialist in every subject. Students of every subject were introduced to every specialist. He used to explain intricate points of different disciplines to those advanced in learning. He occupied with deep study, investigation and thinking. Most of his time was spent in study and analysis of Hadith, and what he observed in his vision after meditation recorded in his writings, and seldom he fell ill."³ He further stated about his father's punctuality and time management, "As in mastery over a wide range of the discipline of study and various expertness I never came across anyone who equal my father."⁴ In teaching and other lectures his instructions were very attractive and delightful.⁵

Based upon the statement of Shah `Abdul `Aziz in Shah Waliullah's making specialist in every subject and intrusting the teaching task to them some writers opined that after preparing the expert teachers in every subject the Shah kept aloof from the task of direct teaching and due to the need of time he preferred the writing books to teaching, so he delved deep into the thought, investigation and writing.⁶ Some scholars stated that during the last thirty years(145H./1732-1176H./1762) of his life the Shah gradually reduced his teaching assignment. He admitted only a select number of mature students to *Madrasah Rahimiyah* instructed them in Hadith and some other disciplines.⁷

¹- Then the new Delhi and now old Delhi That area is called now Kalan Mahalla (Hakim Barakati, op cit , pp 46- 47)

²- Zahirudin Waliullahi, op cit., p 88, Hakim Barakati, pp 46- 47, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit , p 80, Prof Azduddin Khan, op cit , p 49 The Madrasah building remained in that state until the time of great revolt (1857) when it was demolished and people took its logs and doors (Bashiruddin Ahmad , Waq'at Darul Hukumat Delhi, Agra, 1919 Vol II, p 286)

³- Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 40

⁴- Ibid, p 43.

⁵- Ibid, p 82

⁶- Hakim Barakati, pp 12 , 15, A A Rizvi, op cit , p 220, Jalbani, Life of Shah Waliyullah, op cit , p 31, A D Muztar, op cit , p 64

⁷- Prof Yasin Mazhar, op cit , p 15

The first statement seems to be unsettled, because Shah Abdul Aziz's statement did not prove that the Shah gave up the teaching but it informed us only that he had trained specialists in every subject and students were introduced to them Secondly, Shah Waliullah awarded his student Jarullah Panjabi the *Sanad* (academic certificate) on Friday, 11 *Muharram*, 1173 H /1760, that is three years before his death (1176H /1762) In the beginning of certificate the Shah mentioned that Shaikh Jarullah studied under him near about six years Thirdly, the four sons of Shah Waliullah from his second wife¹ studied under him² Therefore, how it is said that the Shah relieved himself of the teaching ? This certificate and studying his sons from his second wife under him prove that Shah Waliullah used to teach till the last years of his life The certificate also shows what kind and how many subjects Shah Waliullah taught his student The Shah said that Shaikh Jarullah studied under him so many books which were impossible to be mentioned in the page of certificate³ In spite of that limitation the Shah mentioned 28 books in that certificate⁴

Shah Waliullah brought about an important change in the teaching system Parting with the old system of placing one class under one teacher he appointed separate teacher for each subject⁵ This reform must have enable the students to gain from a specialized guidance and on the other hand provided the lecturers with better chances of preparing their lessons We find that

¹ - Second marriage happened in 1157 H / 1746 at the age of 43 See *infra*, section IV, pp 57

² - See *infra*, section IV, pp 57- 61

³ - Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta, op cit , introduction, Vol I, p 55- 56

⁴ - Those books are The Quran, a part of Tafsir al- Baidhawi , a portion of Tafsir al- Jalalain , Sahih al- Bukhari from the beginning to the part of Tafsir, Sahih Muslim from the beginning to the part of Buyu and some parts from its end , Sunan Abu Dawud, Jam' Tirmizi, Sunan Ibn Majah, Musnad al- Darimi, Musnad Ahmad, Musnad Abdullah bin Umar, Mishkat al- Masabih Shamail Tirmizi and Hisn Hasin

And from the Shah's own books Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta , Hujjatullah al- Baligha Al- Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al- Ikhtilaf, Iqd al- Jid fi Ahkam al- Ijtihad wal- Taqlid, Al- Qaul al- Jamil, Al- Musalsalat min Hadith al- Nabi, Al- Nukhbah fi Silsilat al- Suhbah , Al- Fauz al- Kabir fi Ilm Usul al- Tafsir along with other books and tracts written by him

Among the books of other writers Hidayah , Sharh al- Mawaqif fi Ilm al- Kalam, Nukhbat al- Fikar with its exegesis in Usul of Hadith, Kitab al- Umam of Shaikh Ibrahim al- Kurdi in the Isnad (chain) of Hadith, Awarif al- Ma arif in Tasawuf and Ihya Ulum al- Din of Imam al- Ghazali (Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta, op cit , introduction p 56- 57)

⁵ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 40, *supra*, p 48

specialization now a days has become a pressing need of the modern age The Shah was thus far ahead of his times in creating specialists in specific subject¹

Shah Waliullah outlined a syllabus in his *Wasiyat Nama* for institutions of advanced learning He advised that all pupils should be taught three or four tracts on the *Sarf* (morphology) and *Nahu* (Arabic syntax) according to their respective intelligence Then they should be taught a text book on history or practical politics (*hikmat-i-`amali*) in Arabic As soon as a pupil had acquired proficiency in Arabic he should be taught the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (d 179H / 795) transmitted by Yahya bin Yahya Masmudi (d 234H / 849) with its commentary This should in no case be interrupted for it contained the essence of Hadith and its study was full of blessings

Later on, the translation of the Quran should be taught and not the commentary The difficulties of grammar and syntax or the circumstances and the occasions of revelation of different verses should not be discussed during the course of the lesson on translation, but should be taken up a later After completely learning the translation, lessons on the *Tafsir Jalalain* should be started, for that method was also endowed with blessings Then the following time-table should be adhered to Different periods should be allotted to the study of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, the *Sahih* of *Muslim* and other books of Hadith, as well as to the books of *fiqh*, belief and sufism A period should be assigned for the study of the books of *danishmandi* (metaphysics) such as *Sharh Mulla*² and *Qutbi*³ and other similar works If possible, the pupils should study a portion of the *Mishkat al-Masabih* and its commentary by al-Tibi (Sharfuddin d 743H) on alternative days This was beneficial, said Shah Waliullah⁴

Shah Waliullah considered fortunate those people who studied Arabic, *Sarf* and *Nahu* and Arabic literary works, the Quran and Hadith To him the study of Persian and works of poetry, speculative rationalism (*ma'qul*)

¹ - G N Jalbani, op cit , p 31

² - Al-Fawaid al-Diyayah by Mulla Nuruddin Abdur Rahman Jami

³ - Qutbi Sharh al-Shamsiyah by Qutbuddin al-Razi

⁴ - Wasiyat Nama with Risalah Danishmandi, op cit , p 7- 8

mythological histories of kings and countries and the works containing an account of the disputes of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) were perversion and aberration.¹

Shah Waliullah has laid down fifteen rules for the guidance of teachers, those are as mentioned below :

1- At first the spelling of hard words will be settled. All the ambiguous words either nouns or verbs in sentences should be cleared. Similarly, the dotted (*nuqtah*) or nondotted words should also be properly understood in order to avoid errors.

2- The literal and technical meanings of all uncommon words should be explained.

3- Obscure and abstruse verbal inflections in sentences should be explained according to the rules of *Sarf* and *Nahu*.

4- The kind of subject matter should be cleared. All complex ideas, which are not easily understood, should be explained in a simple language with example.¹

5- The documents should be made nearer to the brain of the students. Should there be several arguments on different theories in a book, the teacher should give introductory lectures explaining the back ground of the theories. All conclusions should be explained with the help of self-evident axioms in order to remove doubts and confusion from the mind of the pupils.

6- The definitions, classifications and the exceptions should be carefully explained with unequivocal and confined language.

7- The basic formulas, comprehensive rules regarding exceptions with suitable examples should be described.

¹ - Wasayat Nama, op.cit , 9

- 8- The causes of confinement (*hasr*) in classification and reasons of precedence (of certain ideas) in the definition should also be discussed
- 9- If there is any obscurity, doubt or similarity between the statements, those should be removed and the nature of the contradiction should be explained
- 10- Should there be contradictions in the statements of an author, the circumstances of the contradictions should be discussed irrespective of the fact that the contradiction was congruous or partial or derivative
- 11- The apparent obscurities, contradictions, scope for other definitions and objections should also be removed and the teacher should draw the attention of students to these facts
- 12- All quotations should be clearly marked and all perplexities arising out of the questions should also be explained
- 13- If the books are not in the language of the students then the translation would be made according to the comprehension of them
- 14- The teacher should select the mode of instruction If he differ with the opinion of the commentators on a book, he should state the reasons for his differing and remove the obscurities and offer a reasonable solution
- 15- The teacher should deliver his lecture in easy method He should explain each proportion in a clear language and should refer to the statements of the author He has to explain in such a manner that the pupils would not confuse the one with the other The teachers were required to be exceedingly careful in explaining the commentaries

Moreover, the affectionate teacher should give importance to the bellow mentioned points

¹ - Risalah Danishmandi with Wasiyat Nama, op cit , p 12

a - He should clearly warn the pupils regarding the intentions of the commentaries¹

b - The pupils should be told in advance the points to which they were required to pay special attention, so that they might build the framework of their thought on that basis

c - The teacher should direct the studies of the pupil on the basis of his own studies, pointing out the errors of the author in order to save the mind of the pupil from going astray

d - The pupils should be asked to write their own notes and comments on the books taught, and these writings should be examined in order to test the comprehension and competence of the pupils

Shah Waliullah further affirmed that the above rules were applicable to all types of teachings, namely, *ma'qul* (knowledge based on reasoning), *manqul* (knowledge based on revelation and transmission), *burhan* (knowledge based on logical arguments) and *khutabat* (discourses and lectures)²

Students and Disciples of Shah Waliullah :

The notable students and disciples who benefited from Shah Waliullah in exoteric and esoteric knowledge are

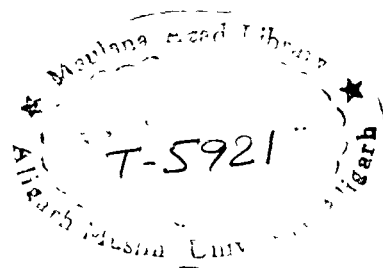
- 1- Shah Ahlullah Phulati
- 2- Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati
- 3- Shah `Abdul `Aziz bin Shah Waliullah
- 4- Shah Rafi`uddin bin Shah Waliullah
- 5- Khawaja Muhammad Amin Waliullahi

¹ - Risalah Danishmandi, op cit , p 13

² - Ibid, p 14

- 6- Qadhi Thanaullah Panipati
- 7- Makhdum Muhammad Mu'inuddin Tatavi
- 8- Maulavi Makhdum Lacknowi
- 9- Maulavi Rafi'udin Muradabadi
- 10- Maulavi Aminullah Nagar Nahvi
- 11- Jarullah bin 'Abdur Rahim Panjabi
- 12- Maulavi 'Abdul Hai
- 13- Shah Abu Sa'id Raibrelavi
- 14- Sayid Murtaza Zubaidi Bilgrami
- 15- Shaikh Muhammad Abul Fath Bilgrami
- 16- Mir Qamaruddin Minnat
- 17- Nurullah Mu'inuddin Phulati
- 18- Muhammad Sharif bin Khairuddin
- 19- 'Abdur Rahman Tatavi
- 20- Shaikh Badrul Haq Phulati
- 21- Muhammad 'Abid bin 'Alauddin Phulati
- 22- Mian Dawud
- 23- Maulavi Khairuddin Surati
- 24- Sayid Jamaluddin Rampuri
- 25- Makhdum Muhammad Amin
- 26- Shaikh Muhammad bin Pir Muhammad
- 27- Abdullah Khan Rampuri
- 28- Muhammad Sa'id Khan Rampuri
- 29- Shah Nithar Ali Ilahabadi
- 30- Shaikh Ibrahim Afindi
- 31- Hafiz Abdun Nabi known as Abdur Rahman
- 32- Sayid Sharfuddin Muhammad
- 33- Mirza Rustam Ali beg
- 34- Baba Fadhlullah Kashmiri

- 35- Baba Muhammad 'Uthman Kashmiri ¹
- 36- Nurullah Budhanavi
- 37- Shah Jamaluddin
- 38- Shah Muhammad Nu'man
- 39- Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id ²
- 40- Shah 'Abdul Qadir bin Shah Waliullah
- 41- Shah 'Abdul Ghanı bin Shah Waliullah ³
- 42- Shah 'Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad 'Ashiq Phulati ⁴
- 43- Mulla Amanullah
- 4- Mulla Sher Muhammad ⁵



¹ - Hakim Barakati, op cit , pp 27, 46, Dr Sa'ud Alam Qasimi , op cit , p 48 He mentioned Abdul Haq Phulati in place of Badrul Haq, likewise he did not mention Sayid Jamaluddin Rampuri

² - Dr Sa'ud Alam Qasimi, op cit , p 48

³ - The two sons of Shah Waliullah who have been mentioned in the no 40 and 41 obtained primary education from their father See infra, section IV of this chapter, pp 60-61

⁴ - Shah Waliullah mentioned in his some letters that Abdur Rahman had studied under him Al- Fauz al- Kabir (Rahim Bakhsh, op cit , p 534- 35)

⁵ - A D Muztar, op cit , p 189

Section IV - Wives and Children

Wives : Shah Waliullah Dihlawi married twice When he was only fourteen years old (in 1128 H./1716) his father got married¹ to the daughter of his maternal uncle Shaikh `Ubaidullah Phulati (d.1150H.)² Her name was Fatima³ She died attacked with diarrhea after leading domestic life with the Shah 21 years, then he wait for divine signal (*kashf*) for second marriage.⁴ and married secondly Bibi Iradat, the daughter of Sayid Thanauallah Sunipati.⁵ or Sayid Hamed⁶ Sunipati⁷ in 1157H./1745CE.⁸ at the age of 43. This wife was alive till the death of Shah Waliullah's younger son Shah Abdul Ghani (d.1203 H)⁹

Children : The biographical documents prove that Shah Waliullah had more than ten children. Many of them died in their very childhood at the life time of the Shah before the birth of Shah `Abdul `Aziz (b.1159H./1746)¹⁰ However, the evidences of the ten of them are very clear although the writers have different opinions in their serial of birth and names. Of those ten, there were five sons and five daughters. From the first wife of the Shah there were

¹ - Al- Juz al- Latif, op cit , p. 26, "وسال چهاردهم تروج صورت گرفت", Anfas al- Arifin, op cit , p 404, Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullahi, op cit , p 87, Hakim Barakati, op cit , p 97

² - Zahiruddin Waliullahi, p 87, Barakati, p 97 Jalbani said that at the marriage his age was fifteen, (Life of Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 6)

³ - Hakim Barakati, Ibid, p 75, 97, Baljon, op cit , p 4, Dr Sa`ud Alam Qasimi (op cit , p 5, with reference to Anfas al- Arifin, p 194) said that her name was Amatour Rahim, but the name is not found in Anfas al-Arifin Prof Nithar Ahmad Faruqi also mentioned her name Amatour Rahim (Nadir Maktubat Hazrat Shah Waliullah Muhaddith Dihlawi , Arranged by Shah Abdur Rahman Phulati, Urdu tr , Maulana Nasim Ahmad Faridi , introduction by Prof Nithar Ahmad Faruqi, Shah Waliullah Academy, Delhi, 1419H /1998, Vol I, introduction, p 57)

⁴ - Shah Waliullah's letter to Mu`inuddin Tatavi, Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah, letter no 61, Vol II, p 129

⁵ - Abdur Rahim Zia, Maqalat Tariqat , Hyderabad , 1292H , p 14, Hakim Barakati, p 100, Prof Azduddin Khan, op cit , p 94, Jalbani, p 8, A D Muztar, op cit , p 195 Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi (op ci , p 74) and Prof Nithar Faruqi mentioned that the Shah married the daughter of Thanauallah Panipati

⁶ - Zahiruddin Waliullahi, p 88, Baljon, p 4, Sa`ud Alam Qasimi, p 52

⁷ - Sunipath A village at a distance of some forty miles to the west of Delhi

⁸ - Hakim Barakati, p 100, Baljon , p 4

⁹ - Sa ud Alam Qasimi, p 52

¹⁰ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 109, as he stated "چون والدین را کو ذك بسیار مرده بودند"

one son and two daughters¹ and from the second wife four sons and three daughters. Those are as follows :

1- The first issue and eldest child of Shah Waliullah from his first wife was a daughter. In some letters the Shah mentioned that at the time of death of his first wife her age was six years.² Some writers said that her name was Saliha.³

2- Shah Muhammad : The second issue and first son of Shah Waliullah from his first wife,⁴ as the Shah mentioned in his letter that at the death of his first wife the son was three years old.⁵ Shah Muhammad studied under his father Shah Waliullah.⁶ He was a complete *wali* (beloved of Allah) and high ranked Sufi.⁷ He stayed in Delhi till the death of Shah Waliullah (1176H./1762).⁸ Then he migrated to Lucknow and spent some times there.⁹ Afterwards he went to

¹ - Letter of Shah Waliullah to Mu'inuddin Tatavi, in which he informed that his wife had died and left a daughter six years old, then a son three years old and then a daughter six months old (Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah, op cit., letter no, 61, Vol. II, p 129) Jalbani said that Shah Waliullah had one son named Muhammad from his first wife and four sons and one daughter from his second wife (op cit., p 7-8)

² - Shah Waliullah's letter to Mu'inuddin Tatavi, ibid

³ - Nithar Ahmad Faruqi, introduction of Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah, p 57, Sa'ud Alam Qasimi op cit, p 52 Qasimi further stated that probably she was born in 1143 H She was married and died at the life time of Shah Waliullah (ibid, p 52-53) A D Muztar said that at his death the Shah survived by five sons and a daughter (op cit, p 192)

⁴ - Muhammad bin Yahya Turhati, op.cit, p 76 As he stated that Shah Abdul Aziz had an elder brother from his father side (meant step mother), his name was Muhammad, who studied under his father and died before Shah Abdul Aziz وكان لعبد العزيز أخ أقدم منه سنا اسمه محمد، وكان "Hakim Abdul Hai said that Shah Abdul Aziz had studied Shamail Tirmizi under his father Shah Waliullah by reciting of his brother Shaikh Muhammad, as he said "قرأ شمائل الترمذي سماعا عليه بقراءة أخيه محمد" (Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op.cit, Vol 6, p 288) Abdur Rahim Zia, op cit, p 14, Barakati, op cit, pp 95- 96, Azduddin Khan, op cit, p 94, Jalbani, op cit, p 7, A D Muztar, p 192, Baljon, op cit, p 4 But no one of them mentioned other children of the Shah from his first wife Moreover, Shah Waliullah's kunyat (filionymic) was Abu Muhammad according to the name of his first son Muhammad, (Supra, section II, p 37)

⁵ - See foot note no 1

⁶ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit, Vol 6, p 228, Hakim Barakati, p 98, see foot note no 4

⁷ - Abdur Rahim Zia, p 14, Prof Azduddin Khan, p 94

⁸ - Hakim Barakati, p 98

⁹ Shah Abdul Aziz Dihlawi mentioned in his some letters addressed to Akhun Zada Abdur Rahman " My elder brother Shah Muhammad is staying at Lucknow with Nawab Afdhal Khan brother of Nawab Najibuddaula, and his letters are coming to me regularly (Fadhail Sahaba wa Ahli Bait with letters of Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Rafi'uddin Dihlawi, introduction by Ayub Qadiri, Karachi Academy, 1965, pp 262- 64

Phulat, then to Budhana and died there in 1208H./1793 and buried in the yard of the mosque of Budhana¹ He got married and had two sons who have been buried at the same place near their father.²

3- The third issue from the first wife of Shah Waliullah was a daughter, as mentioned by himself in the letter addressed to Mu`inuddin Tatavi that at the death of his first wife she was six months old.³ Probably her name was `Ayesha, as it has been mentioned by the Shah in his letter forwarded to his younger brother Shah Ahlullah Phulati (d.1186 H.). She died in her childhood.⁴

4- Shah `Abdul `Aziz : The first issue and first son from the second wife of Shah Waliullah. He was born on 25th Ramadhan, 1159H., corresponding to 11th October 1746.⁵ His historical name was *Ghulamun Halim*⁶ and alias

¹ - Abdur Rahim Zia, op cit., p 14, Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawater, op cit , Vol 7, p 422, Hakim Barakati, op cit , p 99, Prof Azduddin Khan, op cit , p 94 , A D Muztar, op cit , 193 His date of death calculated by chronogrammatical method (Abjadi) from " دخل في الجنة " , (Prof Nithar Faruqi, op cit, p 72) Jalbani stated that it seems, Shah Muhammad died at young age As evidence he quoted Hujjatullah al- Baligha of Shah Waliullah, in Whaich the Shah said that once one of his children fell ill, and he on that account was very worried One day while offering mid-day prayer (Zuhr) he saw the death descending to him As a result the child died in the following night, (Hujjatullah, op cit , Vol 1, p 171, chapter Al-Iman bil- Qadr) Probably in reference to Muhannmad the Shah mentioned above occurrence (op cit , p 7-8) Jalbani's this inference from the above mentioned occurrence is not correct, because the Shah did not mention the name of Shah Muhammad here On the other hand, not only one child of Shah Waliullah died, but according to Shah Abdul Aziz's report many children of the Shah had been died before the birth of him (Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 109, supra, p 56) Moreover, almost biographers have stated that Shah Muhammad was alive for a long time after the death of Shah Waliullah (d 1176 H /1762)

² - Abdur Rahim Zia, p 14, Hakim Abdul Hai, p. 6 /422, Hakim Barakati, p 99, Prof Azduddin Khan, p 94 Prof Nithar Faruqi stated that Shah Muhammad got married but had no child (Nadir Maktubat, op cit , p 57) Jalbani said that it seems that Shah Muhammad died at a young age and left no issue behind him (ibid, p 7) The negative information of Faruqi and Jalbani is not acceptable in opposition to affirmative statements of dependable majority

³ - Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah, supra , foot note no 2, p 57

⁴ - Ibid, letter no 11, Vol 1, p 173 In this letter the Shah wrote that Ayesha was a temporary blessing of Allah for us and He took her on 21st Zulhijjah No one of the writers mentioned the name Ayesha in the list of Shah Waliulla'hs children although Shah Waliullah himself mentioned her name Dr Sa`ud Alam Qasimi said that her name was Amatul Aziz and she was born in 1148 H., (op cit p 53) But majority of the writers stated that Amatul Aziz was born from the second wife of Shah Waliullah (infra, p 61)

⁵ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit., p 109 As Shah Abdul Aziz sated " در شب بست و پنجم " "در شب بست و پنجم", Muhammad bin Yahyia Turhati, op cit, 105, Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , p 7/275, Barakati, op cit , p 97, Rahim Bakhsh, op cit , p 587

⁶ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, p 97, Ibn Yahyia Turhati, p 105, Hakim Abdul Hai, p 7/275

*Masita*¹ He received education in all subjects from his father as well as obtained some lessons from Muhammad Ashiq Phulati (d.1187H) and Khawaja Muhammad Amin Waliullahi.² He was well-versed in *Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh, Tasawuf, Aqida*, philosophy, logic,³ as well as in Arabic grammar, *Usul* and geometry.⁴ He was skilled in javelin throwing, equitation and music.⁵ He was a noble teacher and served the Muslim nation and Islamic education continuously sixty years.⁶

Shah `Abdul `Aziz has written many books in different subjects.⁷ He had three daughters and all were married and died at his life time.⁸ Shah Abdul Aziz died on 7th *Shawal*, 1239 H.,⁹ corresponding to 6th June 1824.¹⁰

5- Shah Rafi`uddin: The second issue and second son from the second wife of Shah Waliullah. He was born on 19th *Zulhijjah*, 1163 H.¹¹ corresponding to 19th

¹- Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit, p 109 Masita vulgarized from Masjida (mosque) Because Shah `Abdul `Aziz immediately after his birth brought to the mosque and endowed to Allah (Malfuzat, p 109, Hakim Barakati, op cit, p 12, foot note no 2) According to the verbal statement of Prof. Azduddin Khan Masita is the name of certain time in local language at which Shah `Abdul `Aziz was born This opinion may be strengthened by Shah Abdul `Aziz's statement "The women used to call me as Masita, because I was born on 25th Ramandhan at dawn" (Malfuzat Shah `Abdul `Aziz, Urdu tr Muhammad Ali Lutfi, Pakistan Educational Publishers, Karachi, 1960, p 202)

²- Shah Abdul Aziz, `Ujala -i- Nafi`ah, op cit., pp 17- 18, Hakim Abdul Hai, op cit, p 7/275, Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan, Athar al- Sanadid, Arranged by Khliq Anjum, Delhi, 1990, Vol II, p 55

³- Prof Azduddin Khan, op cit, pp 68- 69

⁴- Rahim Bakhsh, op cit, p 589

⁵- Hakim Abdul Hai, p 7 / 276, Azduddin Khan, pp 69- 77

⁶- Hakim Barakati, p 100, Azduddin Khan, p 68

⁷- As like Tafsir Fathul Aziz, Bustan al- Muhaddithin, `Ujala -i- Nafi`ah, Tuhfa Ithna Ashariyah Sirrush Shahadatain, Hashiyah al- Qaul al- Jamil, Sirrul Jalil fi Mas`alt al- Tafdhil, Wasilat al- Najat, Azizul Iqtibas fi Fadha'il Akhyiar al- Nas, Fa'idh A`m, Usul -i- Mazhab - i- Hanafi, Hashiya Sadra, Hashiya Mirza Zahid, Tahqiqur Ru`yia, Mizan al- Balagha, Mizan al- Aqaid, Ma Yajibul Hifzu lin -Nazir, Al- Nibras Sharh al- Aqaid of al- Nasafi, Ijaz al- Balagha, Nizam al- Aqaid, Qiran al- Sa`edain wa Iidhah -i- Nayirain dar Zikr Shahadat Imam Husain (R), Tadhmin Qasidat Shah Waliullah, Fatawa Azizi, Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, (Hakim Barakati p 103), Sangit Shastar (science of music), (Prof Azduddin Khan, p 68- 77)

⁸- Hakim Barakati, p 104, Ibn Yahyia Turhatu, op cit, p 106- 7 Some biographers mentioned that Shah Abdul Aziz had three sons also who died in their very childhood, their names were Qutbuddin, Zainuddin and Ahmad, (Sa`ud Alam Qasimi, op cit, p 54)

⁹- Hakim Abdul Hai, p 7 / 283, Abdur Rahim Zia, op cit, pp 28, 30, 40, Hakim Barakati, p 101, Nawshahravi, op cit, p 49 Rahim Bakhsh mentioned that he had died on 7th Shawal 1248 H, (ibid, p 624)

¹⁰- Sa`ud Alam Qasimi, p 54 Mazhar Baqa mentioned corresponding year 1823 CE (op cit, p 127)

¹¹- Rahman Ali, Tazkira -i- Ulama -i- Hind, Urdu tr, Muhammad Ayub Qadiri, Karachi, 1961, p 196, Barakati, without mentioning day and month, p 105, Sa`ud Alam Qasimi, p 54

November 1750 He obtained primary instructions from his father then completed higher education under his elder brother Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz.¹ Besides his eruditeness in Islamic subjects he was unparalleled specialist in mathematics.² He has written many books in Persian and Urdu³

Shah Rafi'uddin had six sons and one daughter. He died on third *Shawal*, 1233 H./ 9th August, 1818.⁴

6- Shah 'Abdul Qadir: Third issue and third son from the second wife of Shah Waliullah. He was born in 1167 H./1753 C.E.⁵ He studied under his father⁶ then his elder brother Shah Abdul Aziz⁷ and Muhammad Ashiq Phulati.⁸ After completing his classical education he retired to a room attached to the Akbarabad mosque in Delhi⁹ and spent his life there in study and writing.¹⁰ He translated the holy Quran in Urdu language with commentary named *Mudhih al-Quran*. He had a booklet in Urdu named *Taqrir al-Salah*.¹¹

¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai, op cit , p 7/186, Hakim Barakati , op cit , p 105- 6, Rahim Bakhsh, op cit , p. 628, Prof Azduddin Khan , op cit , p 94

² - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz , op cit , pp 40, 62

³ - As like The Translation of the Quran (Urdu), Damghul Batil, Muqaddimat al-'Ilm, Rah - i- Najat, Kitab al- Takmil, Asrar al- Muhabbah , Risalah Shaqq al- Qamar, Risalah -i- Arudh, (Faqr Muhammad Jhilami, Hadiqat al Hanafiyah, Nawlkishor, Lucknow, n d p 470, Hakim Barakati, p 107- 9) Risalah -i- Aazan -i- Namaz, Aathar al- Qiyamah , Tanbih al- Ghafilin, Risalah fil-Hijab, Risalah fil-Mantiq , Risalah fil-Tarikh, Qasidah Ayniyah , Qasidah Mi'rajiyah, etc (Hakim Barakati, pp 108- 10)

⁴ - Ayub Qadiri, Urdu tr. of Tazkira -i- Ulama -i- Hind of Rahman Ali, op cit., p.196, Sa'ud Alam Qasimi, op cit , p.54 Hakim Abdul Hai stated that Shah Rafi'uddin died on 6th Shawal, 1233H (Nuzhat al- Khawatir, p 7/187)

⁵ - Rahman Ali, p 315, Hakim Barakati, p 112

⁶ - Muhammad Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti, Tarikh -i- Ali Hadith, Al-Kitab iInternational, Delhi, 1995, p 419, Imam Khan Nawshahravi , op. cit , p 64, Rahim Bakhsh, op cit , p 636 Mir Sialkoti and Rahim Bakhsh stated that Shah Abdul Qadir studied under his father all classical religious books A reasonable question arises here that at the death of Shah Waliullah he was a child of 9 years, then how a child of that age completed the study of all classical books under his father ?

⁷ - Hakim Abdul Hai, p 7 / 302, Faqr Muhammad Jhilami, p 417

⁸ - Hakim Barakati, p 112

⁹ - The English destroyed this mosque after the revolution of 1857, Sir Sayid Ahmad , Aathar al- Sanadid, op cit , p 287

¹⁰ - Abdur Rahim Zia , op cit , p 22 , Hakim Abdul Hai, p 7 / 302

¹¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Al- Thaqafa al- Islamiyah fil- Hind. op cit , p 118

He was married and had one daughter which had been married to the son of Shah Rafi uddin named Shah Mustafa¹ Shah Abdul Qadir died in 19th *Rajab*, 1230 H² corresponding 1815 CE³

7- Shah Abdul Ghanı The fourth and youngest son of Shah Waliullah from his second wife He was born in 1171 H /1758 CE⁴ He memorized the holy Quran at age of 9⁵ He started his classical education at the life time of his father and completed under his elder brother Shah Abdul `Aziz⁶ He was very similar to his father in appearance, nature and dress also He was abstemious and struggled almost times in teaching⁷ He was a man of illumination (*kashf*) and miracles (*karamat*).⁸

He married the daughter of Shaikh `Alauddin Phulati and had one son and two daughters⁹ That son was the great reformer, leader and commander of holy Jihad Shah Muhammad Isma`il (*Shahid*) (1193 H /1779 - 1246 H /1831) Shah Abdul Ghanı died in 1203H / 1789¹⁰

8- Amatul Aziz This daughter is the fifth issue from the second wife of Shah Waliullah¹¹ Her alias was *Masiti* as her elder brother `Abdul `Aziz's alias was

¹ - Hakim Barakati, op cit , p 113, Sa ud Alam Qasimi , op cit , p 55

² - Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , p 7/303, Hakim Barakati, p 113, Mir Siakoti, op cit , 419, Sa ud Alam Qasimi, p 55 Barakati mentioned corresponding year 1814 CE (ibid, p 113)

³ - Sa ud Alam Qasimi, p 55 Hakim Barakati mentioned corresponding year 1814 CE (ibid , p 113)

⁴ - Hakim Barakati, p 113 , Sa ud alam Qasimi, p 55

⁵ - Hakim Barakati, p 113

⁶ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, p 7/276, Rahim Bakhsh, op cit , p 611, Nawshahravi, op cit , p 63 Rahim Bakhsh and Nawshahravi informed that Shah Abdul Ghanı had obtained all educations specially Fiqh and Hadith from his Father and elder brother Shah Abdul Aziz The question is arising here that at the death of Shah Waliullah he was only 5 years old , then how he obtained all sciences specially Fiqh and Hadith from his father Shah Waliullah at that age ?

⁷ - Rahim Bakhsh, p 611 Nawshahravi, p 63

⁸ - Abdur Rahim Zia, op cit , p 23 , Hakim Barakati , p 113

⁹ - Hakim Barakati, pp 113- 14

¹⁰ - Hakim Barakati p 114 Sa ud Alam Qasimi, p 55 Mas ud Alam Nadwi (op cit p 161) and Nawshahravi (ibid, p 63) stated that Shah Abdul Ghanı had died in 1227H

¹¹ - Abdur Rahim Zia, p 14, Hakim Barakati, p 79 Sa ud Alam Qasimi stated that Amatul Aziz was the third issue and second daughter of Shah Waliullah from his first wife and she was born in 1148H (ibid, p 53) But the name Amatul Aziz and her alias Masiti are very close to the name of Shah Abdul Aziz and his alias Masita

*Mas'ia*¹ She was married to her maternal cousin, Shah Muhammad Faiq, the second son of Shah Muhammad 'Ashiq Phulati (d 1187H)² She had three sons

³ The date of her death is not found

9- Fatima : This daughter of Shah Waliullah was born from his second wife⁴

She was born after the birth of Amatul Aziz It is narrated that she was married⁵ The details of her biographical sketch are not available

10- Farrukh Bibi : This daughter of Shah Waliullah was the last issue from his second wife It is related that she was married.⁶ Nothing more about her biography is found

Shah Waliullah died on 29 *Muharram*, 1176 H⁷ corresponding 21st August, 1762. According to the statement of Shah Abdul Aziz then he was 61 years and 4 months old.⁸ He was buried at Mahandiyan to the right of Delhi gate⁹

¹ - Hakim Barakati, op cit , p 79

² - Abdur Rahim Zia , op cit , p 14 , Barakati, p 79 Dr Sa'ud Alam Qasimi stated that she was married to Abdur Rahman Phulati (d 1168), the elder son of Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati (op cit , p 53) As document he mentioned a letter of Shah Waliullah with reference to Hayat -i- Wali of Rahim Bakhsh (op cit , p 534) in which the Shah said that dear son Abdur Rahman had reached (our residence in Delhi) with his children safely and studying under me But this letter did not make the matter clear whether Abdur Rahman was Shah's son in law (husband of Amatul Aziz) or not It may be noted here that Abdur Rahman was the son of Shah Waliullah's maternal cousin and brother in law

³ - Hakim Barakati, p 80- 81

⁴ - Sa ud Alam Qasimi, p 53, prof Nithar Ahmad Faruqi, op cit , p 72

⁵ - Professor Nithar Faruqi stated that Fatima had got married to Muazzam bin Shah Ahlullah (d 1119H/1708) (ibid, p 72) In fact Shah Muazzam was not the son of Shah Ahlullah but he was the son of Muqarrab bin Mu'azzam bin Shah Ahlullah (Abdur Rahim Zia, p 246, Hakim Barakati, pp 62- 63)

⁶ - Prof Nithar Ahmad Faruqi, p 72, Sa'ud Alam Qasimi, p 53 Both have stated that Farrukh Bibi was married to Muhamad Faiq (bin Muhammad Ashiq Phulati) But this statement contrasts to the statement which proves that Muhammad Faiq was the husband of Amatul Aziz bint Shah Waliullah (see foot note no 2)

⁷ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz , op, cit , p 40 As he said "او بود امام اعظم دين" و "تاريخ وفاة" "He was the great leader of religion" and "Ah ! the core of the age has gone" "بست نهم محرم وقت ظهر"

⁸ - Ibid, p 40 As he said "عمر شريف شصت و يك سال چهار ماه شد"

⁹ - Sir Sayid Ahmad, Aathar al- Sanadid, op cit , pp 50- 51, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit , p 85 Prof

Section V - Works of Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah was a prolific and voluminous writer. As a great scholar and reformer, the Shah has covered the almost range of Islamic sciences in his works in Arabic and Persian language. Regarding his writings Abul A la Maududi said, "If we look at the times and circumstances of Shah Waliullah in the one hand and at his excellent works on the other hand, we astonished, how a man of this kind of extraordinary thought and scholarship was born at that epoch!"¹

The exact number of the writings of Shah Waliullah has been not counted finally till to day. The biographical works on the Shah have given different numbers of his books.

Hakim Abdul Hai mentioned 41 names of Shah Waliullah's books.² Maulana Rahim Bakhsh said that the books of Shah Waliullah were huge but except some famous of them the rest and others had not been found.³ Then he mentioned the name of 44 books.⁴ Hakim Mahmud Ahmad Barakati mentioned 61 books.⁵ Maulana Nasim Ahmad Faridi mentioned 78 names of Shah's books.⁶ G N Jalbani said that the total number of the Shah's extant work known so far was about fifty and those all had been printed⁷ and then he mentioned 43 books.⁸ Hafiz Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti claimed that his books were more than 200 but he did not mentioned more than 8 names.⁹ Imam Khan Nawsharavi said that his books would cross 100 but some of them were forgot, and then he mentioned 50 names of books.¹⁰ In the Encyclopaedia of Islam 17 names of his

¹ - Abul A'la Maududi, *Tajdid wa Iliya -i- Din*, Maktaba Jama't Islami, Rampur, 1954, p 98

² - *Nuzhat al-Khawahir*, op cit , p. 6/407- 10

³ - *Hayat -i- Wali*, op cit , pp 543- 44

⁴ - *Ibid*, pp 545- 580

⁵ - *Shah Waliullah aur Unka Khandan*, op cit , pp. 22- 25

⁶ - *Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah*, op cit , preface, pp 78- 90

⁷ - *Life of Shah Waliullah*, op cit , p 32

⁸ - *Ibid*, pp 83- 84

⁹ - *Tarikh Ahl -i- Hadith*, op cit , pp 414- 15

¹⁰ - *Tarajim Ulama -i- Hadith -i- Hind*, op cit , pp 41- 46

books have been included.¹ Muhammad Ayub Qadiri listed 58 works in total.² Maulana Abdul Qayum Mazahiri mentioned 44 books.³ Maulana Manzur Nu'mani mentioned 46 Books.⁴ A D Muztar listed 62 books.⁵ Dr Mazhar Baqa mentioned 73 books.⁶ Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi mentioned 53 books.⁷ Sayid Athar Abbas Rizvi mentioned 47 books.⁸ Professor Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui mentioned 49 books in total along with 5 collections of his letters.⁹ Kabir Ahmad Khan mentioned 45 books of Shah Waliullah along with two collections of his letters.¹⁰

There is no definite marker on the basis of which Shah Waliullah's works may be classified chronologically.¹¹ Therefore, some writers classified the books according to theme, some of them as per their writing periods and some of them categorized in an alphabetical order.

We are giving here a list of Shah Waliullah's works classifying them based upon their theme in large meaning, with brief remarks about their subject matters.

The Quran (قرآن) and its related Subjects :

1- *Fath al- Rahman fi Tarjamat al- Quran (فتح الرحمن في ترجمة القرآن)* (Persian). An excellent translation of and commentary on the holy Quran. It was printed several times by Matba' Hashemi, Meerut in 1254H./1869 ; by Matba' Faruqi , Delhi in 1294H./1877 along with Shah Abdul Qadir's Urdu rendering ; from

¹ - Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit., vol II, pp 254- 255

² - Al- Rahim Journal, Vol 2, June 1964, p 17

³ - Abdul Qayum Mazahiri, Shah Waliullah Muhaddith , Idara -i- Ma'arif Milli, Kanpur , 1967, pp 82- 100

⁴ - Al- Furqan Journal, Shah Waliullah Number, op cit , pp. 388- 89

⁵ - Shah Wali Allah - A Saint Scholar of Muslim India, op cit , pp 173- 179

⁶ - Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, op cit , pp 135- 43

⁷ - Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit , p 289- 302

⁸ - Shah Wali Allah and His Times, op cit , p 221- 24

⁹ - Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, cit , pp 18- 26

¹⁰ - Kabir Ahmad Khan, A selected Bibliography of writings by and on Shah Wali Allah in English and Urdu, The Muslim World Book Review, U K, 1986, Vol 7, No 1, pp 57- 59

¹¹ - Prof Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, p 18

Lucknow in 1902 ; by Nur Muhammad Karkhana Tijarat, Karachi, n.d. ; by Taj Company, Lahore, in 1986.

2- *Al- Muqaddimah fi Qawanin at- Tarjamah* or *Muqaddima dar Fanni Tarjamah* (المقدمة في قوانين الترجمة أو مقدمة در فن ترجمه) (Persian): A brochure on the principles of translating the Quran. It is also included in *Fathur Rahman*. Urdu translation by Hafizur Rahman, published in Burhan Journal, Vol. 15, No. 5, Nov. 1945, pp. 294- 300.

3- *Al- Zahrawain* (الزهرأوين) (Persian): A commentary on *Surah al- Baqarah* and *Surah Al- Imran*.¹ It is in the manuscript form.

4- *Al- Fauz al- Kabir fi Usul al- Tafsir* (الفوز الكبير في أصول التفسير) (Persian): A unique work in the science (*Usul*) of *Tafsir*. Published by Matba' Ahmadi, Hoogli in 1249 H./1834 ; by Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi in 1898, by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1951, by Qadimi Kutub Khana, Karachi, n. d. ; Arabic translation by Muhammad Munir al-Dimashqi and completed by I'jaz Ali Deobandi, from Kitabistan, Deoband, n. d.; another translation by Salman Husani Nadwi, from Lucknow, n.d. ; another translation with annotation by Mufti Sa'id Ahmad Palanpuri, published from Maktaba Hijaz, Deoband in 1418H. Urdu translation by Rashid Ansari, from Maktaba Burhan, Delhi in 1963; another translation by Muhammad Salim Abdullah, from Urdu Academy, Karachi, n.d ; English translation by G N Jalbani, under the title 'The Principles of the Quran Commentary', from Islamabad, in 1985.

5- *Fath al- Khabir bima la Budda min Hifzihi fi Ilm at- Tafsir* (فتح الخبير بما لا بد من حفظه في علم التفسير) (Arabic): A glossary of the intricate words of the Quran. Generally it appears as an appendix to *al- Fauz al- Kabir*. It was Published by Matba' Ahmadi, Hoogli in 1249 H./1834 ; from Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1314 H.

6- *Tawil al- Ahadith fi Rumuz al- Qasas al- Nabawiya* (تأويل الأحاديث في رموز القصص النبوية) (Arabic): It deals with the stories of different Prophets mentioned in the

¹ - Rahim Bakhtish (op cit , p 577) and Imam Khan Nawshahravi (op. cit , p 44) have listed it in

the group of Tasawuf, that is certainly wrong

Quran. It was published by Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad, Pakistan in 1966 ; an Urdu translation published by Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi in 1899 , in al-Rahim Journal, Vol. 3, No. 12 , May, 1966, pp. 881- 96 ; English translation by G N Jalbani, from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1972 and by Kitab Bhaban, Delhi in 1981 , another translation by J M S Baljon, Under the title 'A Mystical Interpretation of Prophetic Tells by an Indian Muslim : Shah Waliullah of Delhi's Tawil al-Ahadith', from Leiden, 1973.

7- *Risalah `ala Fath al- Rahman* (رسالة على فتح الرحمن): A Separate booklet related to *Fath al- Rahman fi Tarjamat al- Quran*.¹

Hadith (حديث) and its related Subjects :

8- *Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta* (المسوّى شرح الموطأ) (Arabic): A commentary on the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (d.179H/795) dealing basically with the opinions of the Hanafite and the Shafi'ite schools.² It lithographed on the margin of *Musaffa*, published by Faruqi Press, Delhi in 1293 H./1876 ; by Maktaba Rahimiya, Delhi, in 1346 H ; by Maktaba Salafiyah, Makkah, 1351 H. ; in separate form by Dar al-Kutub al- Ilmiya, Beirut in 1403 H./1983 ; incomplete Urdu translation in Al- Rahim Journal, Vol. 1, No. 5 October, 1963 and 6, November 1963.

9- *Musaffa Sharh al- Muwatta* (مصفى شرح الموطأ) (Persian): A commentary on *Muwatta Imam Malik*³ which shoes Shah Waliullah's depth of knowledge and insight into the science Hadith and *fiqh*. It was revised and edited after his demise by his pupil Khawaja Muhammad Amin in *Shawal*, 1179 H./ April 1766.⁴ It was published by Matba' Faruqi along with *Al-Musauwa* in 1293 H./ 1876; as well as from Maktaba Rahimiya, Delhi in 1346H.; from Muhammad Ali Karkhana Islami Kutub, Karachi in 1980, Urdu translation by Sayid Abdullah published by Matba' Ahmadi, Calcutta in 1294 H.; incomplete Urdu translation published in Al- Rahim Journal, Vol. 1, No. 5, 1963.

¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit., p. 6 /408

² - For discussion on Al-Musauwa see infra, Chapter VI, Section I, pp 270- 274

³ - For discussion on the Musaffa see infra, Chapter VI, Section, I, pp 274-75

⁴ - Dr Muhammad Ishaq, op cit . p 178

10- *Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* (تراجم أبواب البخاري) (Arabic): A brief notice of the scope and method of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. It expounds the principles which would be found helpful in understanding certain difficult portions of *Sahih al-Bukhari*.¹ The tract was included in the *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin (Musalsalat)* published by Matba' Nur al-Anwar, Arah in 1292H./1875; along with *Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat al-Isnad*, from Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307H./1889. It has been published along with *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* from different publications such a way that both are one book.² Dr. Mazhar Baqa said "As for me, *Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* is not a separate booklet but it is beginning chapter of *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*."³

11- *Sharh Tarajim Abwab Sahih al-Bukhari* (شرح تراجم أبواب صحيح البخاري) (Arabic) An annotation on certain chapters of the *Sahih al-Bukhari* as well as the way of finding proportional relations between the titles of chapters and the Hadiths mentioned under them.⁴ It included *Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* and was published by Dairatul Ma'arif al-Nizamiya, Hyderabad in 1323H./1905; Dairatul Ma'arif al-Uthmaniya, Hyderabad in 1368H./1949 and also appended as introduction to the *Sahih al-Bukhari* included marginal commentary of Maulana Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri, published by Asahh al-Matabi', Delhi in 1940.

12- *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin fi al-Musalsal min Hadith al-Nabi al-Amin* (الفضل المبين في المسلسل من حديث النبي الأمين) (Arabic): The book is also known as *Musalsalat*.⁵ A collection of *Hadith-i-Musalsal*.⁶ included 92 Hadiths which handed down by the groups of *Muhaddithin* of *Fuqaha* of four *mazhabs* and *Asha'irah*, *Sufis*, *Makkiyah*, scholars of Hadith of eastern and western territories, *Ahli Bait*, *Ashraf* (forty *Hadith* transmitted by 'Ali (R.) which have been transmitted by his

¹ - For discussion on the book see infra, Chapter VI, Section, II, pp 276- 291.

² - Publication details are same of *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*

³ - Usul Fiqh our Shah Waliullah, op.cit foot note p 136

⁴ - For discussion on the book see infra, Chapter VI, Section, II, pp 276-91.

⁵ - Dr Mazhar Baqa , p 136, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op.cit , p 296

⁶ - Al-Musalsal A kind of Hadith in which all transmitters mention same description of transmitters or transmission (Imam Ibn al-Salah, *Muqaddimah fi 'Ulum al-Hadith*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, Beirut, 1398H/1978, pp 138- 39, Hafiz Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani, *Nuzhat al-Nazar Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar*. Annotation Salah Muhammad 'Uaidhah. Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah Beirut 1409H/1989, p 100, Dr Mahmud al-Tahhan, *Taisir Mustalah al-Hadith*, Maktaba al-Ma'arif, Riyadh, 1417H/1996, pp 185- 188

descendants), poets etc. It has been published from Matba` Nur al- Anwar, Arah in 1292H./1875 ; from Kutub Khana Yahyavi, Saharanpur in 1391H./1970

13- *Arba`una Hadithan Musalsalah* (أربعون حديثاً مسلسلّة) (Arabic) A selection of forty *Hadith* which the Shah transmitted from his teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir(d.1145 H./1733) from `Ali bin Abu Talib (R.) through the chain of his descendants (*Ashraf*). This seems to be a part of above mentioned *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin fil Musalsal min Hadith al-Nabi al-Amin*¹ The collection was published by Matba` Anwar Ahmadi, Lucknow in 1319H./1901 ; with *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin fil Musalsal*, by Matba` Nur al-Anwar, Arah, 1292H./1875 ;Urdu translation by Khalifa Sayid Abdullah published by Matba` Ahmadi Calcutta , n.d. ; another Urdu translation by Khurram Ali Balhari, from Lucknow in 1270 H./1853 , by Mustafavi Press, Delhi in 1283 H./1866; another Urdu translation by Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi with short comments under the title *Chihl Hadith Walnullah* published in 1387 H./1967.

14- *Al-Nawadir min Ahadith Sayid al-Awail Wal-Awakhir* (النواير من أحاديث سيد الأوائل والأواخر) (Arabic): A short collection of Hadith on the authority of Shaikh Abu Tahir. According to Shah Waliullah's own statement, it included the *Musnad al-Jinn*, *Musnad al-Khadhir* and *Musnad al-Mu`ammarin* (long aged). The Shah himself expressed his doubt in the soundness of those Hadiths and said that he had assembled them in that booklet on surprising not hinting at their soundness² It was published with above mentioned *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin* from Matba` Nur al-Anwar, Arah in 1292H./1875 ; from Kutub Khana Yahyawi, Saharanpur in 1391H./1970.

15- *Al-Durr al-Thamin fi Mubashsharat al-Nabi al-Amin* (الدر الثمين في مبشرات النبي الأمين) (Arabic): It is a collection of forty sayings of the Prophet related to glad tidings which have been received from the Prophet in dreams or visions. The

¹ - See *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin*, op cit , pp 38- 40, As the Shah said " أربعون حديثاً مسلسلّة بالأشرف..."

² -*Al-Nawadir Min Ahadith al-Awail wal-Awakhir* with *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin*, p 67, As he stated " هذه أحاديث نادرة من مسند الجن و مسند الخضر عليه السلام و مسند المعمرين... جمعتها في هذه الرسالة استغراباً لها لا تنويها بصحتها"

Shah transmitted 13 of them directly and¹ 15 of them through his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim and 2 of them through his uncle Shaikh Abur Ridha and 10 of them through his teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir. In spite of Shah Waliullah's own claim that these are the collection of forty Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH) which have been transmitted through dream or vision of the noble soul of the Prophet² these are not be considered as Hadith according to the terminology of *Muhaddithin* at all. Moreover, the texts of these transmissions are relating with the personal matters of transmitters and naturally these are not found in the books of Hadith. It was published with above mentioned *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin* from Matba' Nur al-Anwar, Arah in 1292 H./1875 ; from Kutub Khana Yahyawi , Saharanpur in 1391H./1970 ; with Urdu translation by Zahiruddin Ahmad, published from Delhi in 1890 ; another Urdu translation published from Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi in 1899 ; another Urdu translation by Iqbal Ahmad Faruqi, published from Lyalpur, Pakistan in 1368 ; another Urdu translation by Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri along with Urdu translation of *Al-Qaul al-Jamil* and *Al-Intibah* has been Published from Tasawuf Foundation, Lahore in 1420H./1999.

16- *Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat al-Isnad* (الارشاد الى مهمات الاسناد) (Arabic): On the importance of the chain (*Sanad*) of Hadith³ and on the teachers of the Shah in Hijaz from whom he transmitted the Hadith. It was published with *Tarajim al-Bukhari* of the Shah from Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307H./1889 and with annotation of Muhammad 'Abduhu al-Falah from Sajjad pulishers, Lahore in 1960.

17- *Al-Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah* (الانتباه في سلاسل اولياء الله) (Persian): The first part of this book is related to Tasawuf. The second part of it dealing with the chain of books of Hadith. It was published by Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullahi along with Urdu translation from Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi in 1311 H./1893 ; by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1969 ; another Urdu translation by Sayid Muhammad

¹ - These 13 transmissions are available in *Al-Taffhimat al-Ilahiya* also, pp 2/248-251

² - *Al-Durr al-Thamin fi Mubashsharat al-Nabi al-Amin* with *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin*, op cit , p.55, " هذه أربعون حديثاً من أحاديث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم التي تروى من جهة الرؤيا أو من جهة " مشاهدة روحه الكريمة جمعتها في هذه الرسالة "

³ - As The Shah said, " حفظ الاسناد بقاء الشريعة المحمدية . فلو لم يكن الاسناد أصلاً لم تبق الشريعة " (*Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat al-Isnad*, (Matba' Ahmadi), op cit , p 3

Faruq Qadiri along the Urdu translation of *Al-Qaul al-Jamil* and *Al-Durr al-Thamin* has been published from Tasawuf Foundation, Lahore in 1420H /1999

*Some chapters of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* of Shah Waliullah also related with the Hadith. Those will be mentioned in the short remarks on *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*.¹

Theology and Inner Meanings of Shari'ah (أصول الدين وأسرار الشريعة) :

18- *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* (حجة الله البالغة) (Arabic): A unique work on the inner meaning of religion (*Asrar al-Din*). This is Shah's magnum opus.² A work of encyclopedic character, dealing with various subjects as theology, Islamic jurisprudence, metaphysics, *Tasawuf*, politics, economics, civil administration, *Hadith* and *Usul -i- Hadith* etc.. Dr. Ishaq mentioned that physics also one of the subject of this book. Moreover, he translated "تدبير المنزل" as domestic economy and "السياسة المدنية" as political economy.³ Actually the physics is not available in this book and the mentioned words mean home administration or management and civil politics or administration respectively. The book is prescribed as a course of study of al-Azhar and some universities in Sudan.⁴

There are six chapters in *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* closely related with the Hadith. Those are :

- a- The explanation of the categories of the Prophet's knowledge (PBUH) (باب بيان أقسام علوم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم).
- b- The way the community received the divine law from the Prophet (PBUH) (باب كيفية تلقي الأمة الشرع من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم).
- c- The categories of books on Hadith⁵ (باب طبقات كتب الحديث).
- d- The manner of understanding the legal meanings from the Quran and the *Sunnah* (باب كيفية فهم المعاني الشرعية من الكتاب والسنة).

¹ - See serial no 18, p 70

² - Encyclopaedia of Islam, op cit , Vo II, p 254

³ - India's Contribution to Hadith literature, op cit , p 175

⁴ - Encyclopaedia of Islam, ibid, Vol II, p 254

⁵ - For discussion on the matter see *infra*, Chapter V, Section III, pp 225- 55.

e- Judging among the divergent Hadiths ' (باب القضاء في الاحاديث المختلفة)

f- The different between the people of the Hadith and those who exercise personal opinion (باب الفرق بين اهل الحديث واصحاب الرأي)

The work was published by Matba Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1285 H /1868, from Bulaq, Egypt in 1296H /1877, by Al-Matba al-Khairiyah, Cairo in 1323 H /1805, by Idarah al-Tiba al-Mumriyah, Cairo in 1352 H /1833, by Multazim al-Taba wal-Nashr, Dar al-Kutub al-Hadith, Cairo in 1952-53, by Kitab Khana Rashidiya, Delhi in 1953, Urdu commentary by Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, from Baitul Hikmah, Lahore in 1950, another Urdu translation by Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqu Haqqani, under the title '*Ni`matullah al-Sabigha*', from Karachi in 1373 H, further from Kutub Khana Rahimiya, Deoband in 1965, another Urdu translation by Khalid Ahmad Israeli, under the title '*Aayatullah al-Kamilah*', from Kitab Khana Islami, Lahore, n d, another Urdu translation by Abdur Rahim, from Ahsan brothers, Lahore, n d, another Urdu translation by Muhammad Manzur al-Wajidi, from Maktaba Thanvi, Deoband in 1986, another incomplete Urdu translation with explanation by Mufti Sa'id Ahmad Palanpuri in 2 volumes and 1568 pages has been published by Maktaba Hijaz, Deoband in 1422H /2001

19- *Al-Budur al-Bazigha* (النور السارعة) (Arabic) A sequel to *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*.² The work on theology and used philosophical terminology in discussing human and social behaviour. The book has been published by al-Majlis al-Ilmi, Dabhel, in 1354H /1935, Hyderabad, Sindh in 1970, Urdu translation by Qazi Mujibul Rahman, published from Lahore in 2000. Partial Urdu translation published in *Al-Rahim Journal*, Vol 1, No 10, March, 1964, pp 17-30 and English translation by G N Jalbani, from Islamabad in 1985

20- *Husn al-Aqidah* (حسن العقيدة) (Arabic) It is known as *Al-Aqidah al-Hasanah* (العقيدة الحسنة). The booklet included the fundamental creed of Islam as accepted by the *Ahlu al-Sunnah wal-Jama`ah* based upon the Quran and Hadith. It is

¹ - For details of this matter see infra, Chapter V, Section II, pp 221-22.

² - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, p 291, A A Rizvi, op cit, p 223, Prof Yasin Mazhar op cit p 24

actually a chapter of *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* of Shah Waliullah.¹ The tract has been published by Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi, n.d., with commentary by Muhammad Owais Nagrami under the title *Al-Aqidah al-Sunniyah*, from *Nadwatul Ulama*, Lucknow in 1962 ; Urdu translation by Sayid Sajjad Ali Asifabadi, from Matba' Rozana Akhbar, Delhi, n.d.. The book with commentary of Owais Nagrami is included in the syllabus of the *Nadwatul Ulama*, Lucknow.² A Persian translation of the work has been published by Matba' Mufid-i-'Am, Agra, n d

21- *Al-Muqaddima al-Saniyah fil-Intisar li al-Firqah al-Sunniyah* (المقدمة السنية في الانتصار للفرقة السنية) (Arabic): This is the Arabic rendering of Mujaddid Alf Thani's (d.1034H./1624) Persian tract *Radd-i-Rawafidh* (Refutation of *Shi'a*) with certain comments.³ The Shah has translated it at the instance of his teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir Madani (d.1144H./1731).⁴ It has been published by Abul Khair Academy, Delhi in 1983 . Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi stated that It has also been published from Delhi by Maulana Abul Hasan Zaid Mujaddidi.⁵

22- *Al-Khīr al-Kathīr* (الخير الكثير) (Arabic): The work deals with the matters of faith, *Tasawuf* and physical world on philosophical way.⁶ It was published by Madina Barqi Press, Bijnore, Majlis Ilmi, Dabhel in 1352H/1933 ; from Cairo in 1974 ; Urdu translation by Abdur Rahim, published from Bombay , n. d. and English translation by G N Jalbani, published from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1974

23- *Qurrat al-Aynam fi Tafdhil al-Shaikhain* (قرة العينين في تفضيل الشيخين) (Persian): On the superiority and excellence of the first two Caliphs Abu Bakr Siddiqu (R.) and Umar Faruqu (R.). The book was published by Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi

¹ - *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya*, op cit , pp 1/144 - 48

² - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op. cit., p.292.

³ - Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi ascribed the book *Raddi Rawafidh* to the Shah himself (ibid, p 299) We do not know whether that is a printing mistake

⁴ - Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit , p 141, Abul Hasan Nadwi, ibid , p 303, Prof Yasin Mazhar, op cit , p 19

⁵ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, p 299, without publication details

⁶ - *Al-Khair al-Kathir* arranged by Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati in 1161H/1847 (Prof Yasin Mazhar, p 23) Shah Waliullah mentioned the name of this book in his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* and drew the attention to some mistakes made by himself in this book (*Al-Tafhimat*, p 1/49) As he said , "عذر- قد أكثرنا في الخير الكثير من بيان تفارق الأسماء..... وقد وقع هنالك الجور عن طريقنا."

in 1320H , by Matba Rozana Akhbar, Delhi in 1899 , by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1976 , Urdu translation by Ahmad Ali, from Alavi Press, Lucknow in 1296 H , by Mufid Am Press, Agra in 1295 H

24- *Izalat al-Khafa 'an Khilafat al-Khulafa* (إزالة الخفاء عن خلافة الخلفاء) (Persian) This is a famous and comparable work of Shah Waliullah deals with the justification of the order of succession of the first four Caliphs of the Prophet (PBUH) In this book the Shah proved the righteousness of those Caliphs by the verses of the Quran, *Hadith* and historical evidences There is a similarity between this book and the *Minhaj as-Sunnah of Imam Ibn Iaimiyah* (d 728H/1328) in support of *Ahlus Sunnah* regarding Caliphs and refutation of Shi'ites It was published by Matba Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1286 H/1869 , by Sohail Academy, Lahore in 1976 , from Qadimi Kutub Khana, Karachi, n d , Urdu translation by Muhammad Abdush Shakur Mujaddidi, from Umdatul Matabi', Lucknow in 1329 H/1911 , also from Karachi in 1385 H , another Urdu translation by Insha Allah, Hamidur Rahman and Ishtiaqu Ahmad Deobandi, published from Quran Mahal, Karachi, n d

Fiqh and Usul -1- Fiqh (الفقه وأصول الفقه):

25- *Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wa-Taqlid* (عقد الجيد في أحكام الاجتهاد والتقليد) (Arabic) An excellent work on the rules and regulations of *Ijtihad*¹ and *Taqlid*² The book has been published by Matba Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1309 H , by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1965 , with paralleled Urdu translation, by Matba Muhtabai, Delhi in 1344 H/1925 , Urdu translation by Muhammad Ahsan Nanatuvu entitled *Silk Marwarid*, by Matba Muhtabai in 1309 H , Urdu translation by Abdush Shakur Faruqi, from Lucknow, n d , Urdu translation by

¹ - Ijtihad Independent investigation of laws from its sources (Quran , Sunnah then Ijma and Qiyas) by spending highest exertion accordance with the methodology laid for such exercise (Shah Waliullah , *Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wa al-Taqlid*, with Urdu tr by Muhammad Ahsan Nanatuvu , entitled 'Silk Marwarid', Matba Muhtabai, Delhi, 1310H , p 6

² - Taqlid The unquestioning acceptance of the rulings of earlier jurists of one's own school (Ali Bin Muhammad al- Amidi, *Al-Ihkam fi Usul al-Ahkam*, ed Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Afifi Al-Maktab al-Islami, Beirut, 1402H , Part 4, p 221), Imam Abu Abdullah Ibn Qayim al-Jauziya *Alam al-Muaqqi in an Rabb al-Alamin* , ed Muhammad Mu tasim al-Baghdadi , Dar al-Kitab al- Arabi , Beirut 1416, 1996, Vol 2 , p 175

Sajidur Rahman Siddiqi, by Quran Mahal, Karachi in 1379 H.; English translation of selected passages by Muhammad Dawud Rahbar, in the Muslim World Journal, Vol. 55, No. 4, October, 1955, pp. 346-58.

26- *Al- Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al- Ikhtilaf* (الانصاف في بيان سبب الاختلاف) (Arabic) A unique work on the topic, deals with the evolution of the schools of *fiqh* and the causes that led to their foundation and differences of opinions among *fiqh*-scholars, as well as the Shah's advises to follow the sound *Hadith* and the school which supported by sound *Hadith*. Shah Waliullah expressed his intention to write this book *Al-Insaf* in his *Hujjatullah al- Baligha*.¹ The book included some chapters of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*.² The work has been published by Matba' Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1307H; by Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi in 1308 H./1891; Al- Matba' al-Ilmiyah, Egypt in 1327H./1909; with edition of Rashid Ahmad Jalndhari, Lahore in 1971; with edition of Muhibbuddin al- Khatib, Cairo, in 1960; with edition of Shaikh Abdul Fattah Abu Guddah, Beirut in 1397 H./1977, Urdu translation by Muhammad Abdullah Baliawi, entitled *Kashshaf*, from Lucknow in 1886; Urdu translation by Abdush Shakur Faruqi, entitled *Wassaf*, from Umdatul Matabi', Lucknow in 1910; Urdu translation by Mirza Hairat Dehlavi, from Matba' Jivan, Pakistan, n.d.; another Urdu translation published by Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi, in 1935; another Urdu translation by Sadruddin Islahi, under the title *Ikhtilafi Masail men I'tidal ki Rah*, Maktaba Jama'at Islami, Rampur in 1952.

Tasawuf (تصوف) and its Related Subjects :

27- *Al-Qaul al-Jamil fi Bayan Sawa al-Sabil* (القول الجميل في بيان سواء السبيل) (Arabic): The book deals with the legality of *bai'at* (spiritual solemnization) and different

¹ - *Hujjatullah al-Balighah*, op cit, p 1/390. (Chapter *Hal al- Nas Qabl al- Miat al- Rabi'ah*)

² - The chapters and subjects of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* from the pages 316-355, 357- 60 and those of in *Al-Insaf* from the page 15- 68, 87- 96 are same. There are some differences in the chapter of *Hal al-Nas Qabl al- Miat al- Rabi'ah* That is, 18 pages from 69 - 86 of *Al- Insaf* which begins with the speech of Ibnul Humam and ends with 'Sewa al-Adab' are not available in the same chapter of *Hujjatullah al- Balighah* For details see the *Hujjatullah al- Baligha*, chapters from 80-84, with sub chapter of *Taqlid*, pp 1/339-391 and *Al- Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al- Ikhtilaf*, ed Shaikh Abdul Fattah Abu Guddah, Dar al- Nafais, Beirut, 1397 H/ 1977, pp 15- 112

Sufi orders and their systems, practices, *Awrad* (litanies) and *Azkar* (recollections) and encouraging the *Sufis* on learning the Quran and *Sunnah* and following them. It was published by Al- Matba al-Jamaliyah, Egypt in 1290H /1873 by Matba Nizami, Kanpur, 1291H, Urdu translation by Khurram Ali Bilhauri, entitled *Shifa al-'Alil*, by Matba Darakhshani in 1278 H /1861, Matba Nizami Kanpur in 1307H /1889, recently has been published by Maktaba Rahmaniya, Lahore, n d, another Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar, published from Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore in 1946, another Urdu translation by Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri along with Urdu translation of *Al- Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah* and *Al-Durr al-Ihamin* has been pulished from Tasawuf Foundation, Lahore in 1420H /1999

28- *Fuyudh al- Haramain* (فيوص الحرمين) (Arabic) The book contains the thought of *Tasawuf*, glad tidings, visions and revelations during Shah's staying in *Hijaz* and meditation besides the Prophet's grave. It was published by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi, 1308 H, Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar entitled *Mushahadat wa Ma'arif*, published by Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore in 1947, another Urdu translation published from Iqbal Book Depot, Karachi, n d

29- *Al- Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah* (الانتباه في سلاسل أولياء الله) (Persian) The first part of this book gives the history and a brief introduction to different mystic orders. The second part of it deals with the chain of books of Hadith. It has been published by Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullahi along with Urdu translation from Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi, in 1311H /1893, from Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1969, Urdu translation by Sayid Faruq Qadiri along with Urdu translation of *Al-Qaul al-Jamil* and *Al-Durr al-Ihamin* has been published from Tasawuf Foundation, Lahore, in 1420H / 1999

30- *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* (التفهيمات الإلهية) (Arabic and Persian) A collection of articles¹ related with various thoughts, orders and practices of *Tasawuf*. The book is not strictly reserved for mysticism. It comprises the Shah's own opinions in different subjects along with addresses and advises to almost all

¹- Every article placed under the head line of 'Tafhim' (means to make understand)

the sections of his community The work has been published by Majlis Ilmi Dabhel, from Madina Barqi Press, Bijnore in 1355 H /1936

31- *Altaf al-Quds* (الطاف القدس) (Persian) The book deals with the esoteric principles of Sufism It was published by Zahiruddin Waliullahi, from Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307 H , along with Urdu translation by Abdul Hamid Sawati published from Gujranwala in 1383H/1964 , Urdu translation by Hakim Muhammad Musa from Lahore in 1975, another Urdu translation by Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri published from Tasawuf Foundation, Lahore in 1419H/1998, English translation by G N Jalbani, edited by Dr Pendlbury, entitled 'The Sacred knowledge of the Higher Functions of the Mind', published from Octagon Press, London in 1982

32- *Ham'at* (همعات) (Persian) The work deals with the development of Sufi orders, stages of mystical journey and the Shah's own experiences and judgement It was published from Lahore in 1941, edited by Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi, from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1964 ,Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar, entitled *Tasawuf ki Haqiq aur uska Falsafa -i- Tarikh*, from Sindh Sagor Academy, Lahore in 1946 and 1999, from Maktaba Rahmaniya, Deoband in 1969, from Jamhur Book Depot, Deoband in 1977 with annotation by Nurul Haq Alavi, from Hyderabad, Pakistan in 1964

33- *Sat'at* (سطعات) (Persian) A work on philosophy and terminologies of Tasawuf It was published by Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullahi , from Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307H , reprinted from Baitul Hikmah, Karachi in 1939 , with edition of Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi, by Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad, Sindh in 1964, Urdu translation by Muhammad Matin Hashmi, from Idara Thaqafa Islamiya, Lahore in 1986 and 1999, English translation by G N Jalbani, from Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad, Sindh, in 1970 and from Kitab Bhaban, Delhi in 1981

34- *Lamhat* (لمحات) (Persian)¹ The booklet deals with being, reality, great person (al-Shakhs al-Akbar), holy circle (Hazirat al-Quds) and the universe. It was published with edition of Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi from Hyderabad, Sindh, n.d.; Urdu translation by Pir Muhammad Hasan, published from Idara Thaqafa Islamiya, Lahore in 1966 and 1984; English translation by G N Jalbani, from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1970, another translation by Jalbani and D B. Fry entitled 'Sufism and the Islamic Tradition. *Lamhat* and *Sat'at* of Shah Waliullah of Delhi', from London in 1980.

35- *Lam'at* (لمعات) (Persian): A tract on sufism. It is reported that the tract has been printed but details are not available.²

36- *Shifa al-Qulub* (شفاء القلوب) (Persian): A tract on *Tasawuf*. The publication details of it are not available.³

37- *Hawami` Sharh Hizb al-Bahr* (هوامع شرح حزب البحر) (Persian): Persian translation of and commentary on the famous Arabic invocations named *Hizb al-Bahr* written by Shaikh Abul Hasan Shazili. It was published by Matba` Ahmadi, Delhi in 1302 H.; by Matba` Muhtabai, Delhi in 1350 H.; by Matba` Rozana Akhbar, Delhi, n. d.

38- *Kashf al-Ghaim fi Sharh Ruba'iyatain* (كشف الغين شرح رباعيتين) (Persian): A commentary on two *Sufi-Ruba'is* (quatrains) of Khawaja Baqi Billah on Mujaddidi order. It was published by Matba` Muhtabai, Delhi in 1310 H./1892

39- *Fath al-Wadud li Ma'rifat al-Junud* (فتح الودود لمعرفة الجنود) (Arabic): Maulana Rahim Bakhsh listed it in the group of *Tasawuf*,⁴ whereas Imam Khan

¹ - A D Muztar mentioned that the book was in Arabic (op cit, p 184) Possibly that is printing mistake

² - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, p 299, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, p 138, Kabir Ahmad, op cit, p 59 A A Rizvi mentioned in the bibliography of his book that it had been published from Hyderabad, Sindh, n.d (op cit, p 415)

³ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, p 295, Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 138, Kabir Ahmad, p 59

⁴ - Hayat -i- Wali, op cit, p 577

Nawshahravi mentioned it in the class of *'aqida*.¹ Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi and Dr. Mazhar Baqa said that they had not come across the book.²

40- *'Awarif* (عوارف) : Maulana Rahim Bakhsh listed it in the group of *Tasawuf* and said that the book was in Arabic.³ Dr. Mazhar Baqa mentioned the book with reference to Rahim Bakhsh but said that it was in Persian.⁴ Nawshahravi also mentioned it as a book of *Tasawuf*.⁵

41- *Al- Maktub al- Madani* (المكتوب المدني) (Arabic): A letter to Shaikh Ismail bin Abdullah Rumi comparing and conciliating between the doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujud* of Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi (d.638H./1240) and the theory of *Wahdat al-Shuhud* of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi (d.1034H./1624).⁶ It forms a part of the *Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya* of Shah Waliullah.⁷ Urdu translation by Muhammad Hanif Nadwi under the title *Maktub Madani* published from Idara Thaqafa Islamiya, Lahore in 1965.

42- *Al- Risalah* (الرسالة) (Arabic): It was written in reply to certain mystical issue raised by Shaikh Abdullah alias Khawaja Khurd.⁸

Biography :

43- *Surur al-Mahzun fi Siyar al-Amin al-Mamun* (سرور المحزون في سير الأمين المأمون) (Person): It is a concise rendering of the *Nur al-'Uyun*, a well known biography of the Prophet (PBUH) by Ibn Sayid al- Nas which has penned by the Shah at the instance of Mirza Mazhar Jan -i- Janan (d.1195 H./1781). It was published by Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi in 1308 H. ; Urdu translation by Khalifa Muhammad 'Aqil,

¹ - Tarajim Ulama -i- Hadith -i- Hind, op cit , 45

² - Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit , p 296, Usul -i- Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 14

³ - Hayat-i- Wali, op cit , p 577

⁴ - Usul -i- Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, p 142

⁵ - Tarajim Ulama -i- Hadith -i- Hind, p 44

⁶ - For details of the two doctrines see infra , Chapter III, Section III, pp 121-27.

⁷ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, pp 2/216- 36

⁸ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , p 6/410, Abul Hasan Nadwi, pp 293- 94. Dr

from Darul Isha'at, Karachi in 1358 H.; another Urdu translation by Maulana Bakhsh Chishti, from Sitara Hind, Delhi in 1315H.; another Urdu translation by 'Ashiq 'Alī, entitled *Al-Zikr al-Maimun*, from Matba' Muhammadi, Delhi, n.d. another Urdu translation by Abul Qasim Hasawi, entitled *Aynul'Uyun*, from Tonk in 1271H.

44-50 - *Anfas al-'Arifin* (انفاس العارفين) (Persian): The book consists following seven tracts :

I- *Bawariq al-Walayah* (بوارق الولاية) (Persian): It contains the life sketch , spiritual practices and achievements of the Shah's father Shaikh Abdur Rahim.

II- *Shawariq al- Ma'arif* (شوارق المعارف) (Persia): It deals with the life account and mystical view and practices of his uncle Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad

III- *Al-Imdad fi Maathir al-Ajdad* (الامداد في مآثر الأجداد) (Persian): It contains Shah Waliullah's genealogical table and brief notices about some of his ancestors.

IV- *Al-Nabzat al-Ibriziya fil-Lataif al-Aziziya* (النبتة الإبريزية في اللطائف العزيزية) (Persian): It consists a biographical account of Shaikh Abdul Aziz¹ and his ancestors and descendants.

V- *Al-'Atiya al- Samadiya fil- Anfas al- Muhammadiya* (العطية الصمدية في الأنفاس المحمدية) (Persian): The brochure deals with the life, mystical views and practices of the Shah's maternal grand father Shaikh Muhammad Phulati.

VI- *Insan al-'Ayn fi Mashaikh al- Haramain* (انسان العين في مشايخ الحرمين) (Persian): It contains the biographical account of Scholars, *Muhaddithun* and teachers of Shah Waliullah in Makka and Madina.

¹ - Shaikh Abdul Aziz Maternal great grand father of Shah Waliullah not his illustrious son
See *Anfas al- Arifin* (Al- Nubza al- Ibriziya fil- Latifa al- Aziziya), op cit , p 347, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit , p 300

VII- *Al-Juz al-Latif fi Tarjamat al-'Abd al-Dha'if* (الحرء اللطيف في ترجمة العبد الضعيف) (Persian): It consists an autobiographical account and some reminiscences of Shah Waliullah. It has been published separately with the Sat at of the Shah by Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi, n. d..

The *Anfas al-'Arifin* has been published by Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi in 1335 H/1917 ; by Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi, n. d. ; from Karachi in 1358 H ; Urdu translation by Muhammad Faruq Qadiri, from Lahore in 1974, 1998 , from Maktaba al-Falah, Deoband in 1393 H. ; another Urdu translation by Muhammad Asghar Faruqi, from Lahore in 1977.

51- *Maktubat ma'a Manaqib Abu Abdullah al-Bukhari wa Fadhlāt -i- Ibn Taimiyah*¹ (مکتوبات مع مناقب ابي عبد الله البخاري وفضيلت ابن تيمية) (Persian): The work comprises two Articles on achievement of *Imam Bukhari* and *Imam Ibn Taimiyah* with acclaiming and supporting them. It was published by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi , n. d..

Arabic Grammar :

52- *Sarf Mir* (صرف مير) (Persian): A persian rendering of the work of Mir Jurjani on morphology for teaching the Shah's son Shah Abdul Aziz. It was published by Matba' Muhammadi, Lahore in 1293 H.

Poetry :

53- *Atyab al- Nugham fi Madh Sayid al- Arab wal- Ajam* (أطيب النغم في مدح سيد العرب والعمم) (Arabic): A collection of odes eulogizing the Prophet (PBUH) which speak of the Shah's poetic talent and love for the Prophet. This is a *Qasidah Baiyah*.² It was published from Matba' Mujtabai, Delhi in 1308H./1891. Hakim Abdul Hai has mentioned the Qasidah which included 107 rhymes³ Urdu

¹- The two articles of the Shah brought out under this title by Maulavi Abdur Rauf of Nazariya Library, Delhi (Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit , p 300)

²- The ode every line of which ends with the word 'Ba' (ب)

³- Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , pp 6/ 410- 15

translation of the poem by Pir Muhammad Karamshah Azharī has been published from Lahore in 1985

54- *Al-Qasidah al-Hamziyah fil-Madh al-Nabawiyah* (القصيدة الحمزية في المدح النبوية) (Arabic): Another tract containing odes in praise of the Prophet (PBUH). Publication details as same of above mentioned *Atyah al-Nugham*

55- *Diwan Ash`ar* (ديوان أشعار) (Arabic): A collection of poems of the Shah, compiled by his two illustrious sons, Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Rafi uddin. The manuscript is available in the *Nadwatul Ulama* Library, Lucknow.¹

56- *Al-Qasidah al-Lamiyah* (القصيدة اللامية) (Arabic): It features as the conclusion of the 11th visions in *Fuyudh al-Haramain*.²

57- Persian Poetry : Shah Waliullah's many *Ruba'iyats* (quatrains) in Persian³ Maulana Rahim Bakhsh stated that, if all Persian poems of the Shah had been assembled in a place it would have been a *Diwan* of poem. For example he mentioned 10 poems in his book.⁴

Miscellaneous :

58- *Al-Sirr al-Maktum fi Asbab Tadwin al-`Ulum* (السر المكتوم في أسباب تدوين العلوم) (Arabic): On the reasons of recording of knowledge. It was published from Delhi in 1321H./1809. Urdu translation by Imam Khan Nawshahravi has been published in *Al-Rahim Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, June - July, 1964.

59- *Risalah -i- Danishmandi* (رساله دانشمندی) (Persian): A valuable tract containing detailed directions in regard to methodology of teaching. It was published

¹ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit , p 293

² - See supra in the list of Tasawuf, p 73

³ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , p 6/410

⁴ - Hayat -i- Wali, op cit , pp 511- 12

by Mtba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1321H /1899 ; From Lucknow in 1894 at the margin of the *Wasiyat Nama* ; Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar published from Lahore in 1964, published in Al-Rahim Journal, Vol. 2 , No 4, September, 1964 , another Urdu translation by Muhammad Akram Nadwi, entitled *Usul al- Dirasah wal- Ta'lim*, in al- Ba'th al- Islami Journal, Lucknow, Vol 27, No 4, October, 1403 H./1982

60- *Al- Maqalat al- Wadhiyah fin- Nasihah wal- Wasiyah* (المقالات الوضیة فی النصیحة والوصیة) (Persian): It is also known as the *Wasiyat Nama* (وصیت نامہ) This small treatise included commandments and advices relating to `aqida (faith), education, Muslim culture etc . It was published by Matba` Muti'ur Rahman , Delhi in 1268H./1852 with annotation of Qazi Thanauallah Panipathi ; by Matba Masihī, Kanpur in 1273 ; With *Risalah Danishmandi* , from Lucknow in 1873 and 1894

The books which names only known without details :

- 61- *Al- I'tisam*¹ (الاعتصام)
- 62- *Hashiya Risalah Lubs Ahmar* (حاشیة رسالہ لبس احمر) (Persian)
- 63- *Wasiyat Nama Nazam Kardah Sa`adat Khan* (وصیت نامہ نظم کردہ سعادت خان) (Persian)
- 64- *Waridat* (واردات)
- 65- *Nihayat al- Usul* (نہایۃ الأصول) (Persian)
- 66- *Al- Anwar al- Muhammadiya* (الأنوار المحمدیة) (Persian)
- 67- *Fath al- Islam* (فتح الاسلام) (Persian)
- 68- *Kashf al-Anowar* (كشف الأنوار) (Persian)
- 69- *Al- Zikr al- Maymun* (الذكر الميمون)
- 70- *I'rab al- Quran* (اعراب القرآن)
- 71- *Ajviba `an Thalathi Masail* (أجوبة عن ثلاث مسائل)
- 72- *Risalah fi Mas`alah `Ilm al- Wajib* (رسالہ فی مسئلہ علم الواجب)
- 73- *Risalah -i- Dihlawi* (رسالہ دہلوی)
- 74- *Asrar -i- Fiqh* (اسرار فقہ)

¹ - Shah Abdul Aziz said that Al- I tisam was on invocation which had been written by his father in Arabic (Fatawa Azizi, Matba Mujtabai , Delhi, 1311 H , p 181)

75- *Al- Anfas al- Muhammadiya*¹ (الأنفاس المحمدية)

76- *Mansur* (منصور)

77- *Al- Nukhbah fi Silsilat al- Suhbah*² (النخبة في سلسلة الصحبة)

Disputed books :

There are some books have been criticized by some writers as falsely ascribed to Shah Waliullah. In this connection Professor Yasin Mazhar stated, "These books are yet to be critically analyzed. In the absence of their critical study one can not do justice to Shah Waliullah's thought".³ However, we are going to mention those books bellow :

* *Al- Balagh al- Mubin* (البلاغ المبين) (Persian): The book is related with theology and 'aqida. Imam Khan Nawshahravi has ascribed it to the Shah and included it in the list of 'aqida.⁴ Some scholars referred to this book as the book of Shah Waliullah.⁵ But some others considered it as falsely ascribed to the Shah.⁶ It has been published by Faqirullah from Matba' Muhammadi⁷; by Matba' Mujtbai, Delhi, n. d.⁸; Urdu translation by Hafiz Abdur Rahman Gauhatri Published from Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1962.

* *Fi ma Yajib Hu fzuhu ln- Nazir* (فيما يجب حفظه للناظر) (Arabic): Maulana Rahim Bakhsh and Maulana Nawshahravi ascribed it to the Shah and included it in

¹ - Probably this book is a part of Anfas al-Arifin which name is Al-'Atiya al-Samadiya fil-Anfas al-Muhammadiya See supra p 79

² - Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, pp 141-43, 178, some of these books have been mentioned by A D Muztar also, op cit, p 189.

³ - Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, op cit, p 26

⁴ - Tarajim Ulama -i- Hadith -i- Hind, op cit, p 45

⁵ - A D Muztar, op.cit., p 190, Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment op cit, p 299 Prof Yasin Mazhar listed it in the books of Shah Waliullah, ibid, p 25

⁶ - Ayub Qadiri said that the book was written by some students of Shah Waliullah Then some 'Ghair Muqallid' (who does not follow certain school of fiqh) scholar named Faqirullah had published it from Matba' Muhammadi (Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah, op cit, introduction, p 92) Shah Abul Hasan Zaid Naqshbandi and Maulavi Taqi Anwar Kakuri also gave same opinion (Al- Qaul al- Jali, Shah Muhammad 'Ashiqu Phulati, Urdu tr Maulavi Taqi Anwar, introduction, Shah Abul Hasan Zaid Naqshbandi, Lucknow, 1988, introduction, pp 92- 93)

⁷ - Ayub Qadiri, p 92

⁸ - Prof Yasin Mazhar, p 25

the list of Hadith¹ Actually this is a booklet of two pages written by Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz not by Shah Waliullah. In the first page Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz said, "As our respected teacher Shah Waliullah stated". And in the last page Shah Abdul Aziz himself said, "Faqr 'Abdul 'Aziz Dihlavi has written these lines"² This booklet has been published with *Al- Irshad ila Muhimmat al- Isnad* by Matba' Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307H./1889.

* *Faidh 'Am* (فيض عام) (Persian): Maulana Rahim Bakhsh and Nawshahravi ascribed it to Shah Waliullah and the first one listed it in the miscellaneous whereas the second one included it in the list of *tasawuf*.³ Dr. Mazhar Baqa stated that the book was written by Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz not by Shah Waliullah.⁴

* *Risalah Awail* (رساله اوائل): The author of this book was Shaikh Muhammad Sa'i Sanbal and misascribed to Shah Waliullah⁵. The Shah himself stated that the compiler of that book was Shaikh Sanbal.⁶ The book has been published with *Al- Irshad ila Muhimmat al- Isnad* by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307H./1889.

* *Al- Qaul al- Jali* (القول الجلي): (Persian): This book is related with mysticism and the some occurrences happened in the journey to *Hyaz*. It is wrongly ascribed to Shah Waliullah.⁷ The book is written by Shah Muhammad 'Ashiqu Phulati as it has been mentioned by Shah Waliullah himself.⁸ The book has been published with Urdu translation and annotation of Maulavi 'Iaqi Anwar 'Alawi along with introduction of Shah Abul Hasan Zaid Naqshbandi from

¹ - Hayat-i- Wali, op cit , p 580 , Tarajim Ulama -i- Hadith -i- Hind, op cit , p 43

² - As he said , "کما قال شيخنا الأجل ولي الله الدهلوي..... كتب هذه الأسطر الفقير عبد العزيز الدهلوي".

³ - Hayat -i- Wali, p 580, Tarajim Ulama -i- Hadith -i- Hind, p 44

⁴ - Usul -i- Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 145, see supra , Chapter II, section IV, foot note no 7, p 59

⁵ - Ibid, p 145

⁶ - The Shah himself said in the begining of *Risalah Awail* (p 1) , "رسالة أوائل... جمعها الشيخ الإمام محمد سعيد سنبل".

⁷ - Dr Mazhar Baqa. p 143

⁸ - *Al- Juz al- Latif*, op cit , p 26 The Shah stated "چنانچه بعض اعزہ اخوان اجلہ خلان تفصیل ان واقعات با وقائع دیگر در رساله مضبوط نموده اند و آن را بقول جلی مسمی کرده اند".

Lucknow in 1988 Some false *Hadiths* like "لولاك لما خلقت الأفلاك" ¹ are available in this book ² An expert *Hadith* scholar like Shah Waliullah can not mention this kind of false *Hadith* in his book as document.

* *Tuhfat al- Muahhidin* (تحفة المحدثين) (Persian): This tract explained the creed of *Tauhid*. Because of some discordant views expressed in it some people denied its authorship to the Shah. ³ The tract was published by Afzal al- Matabi`, Delhi, n. d. ; Urdu translation by Maulana Rahim Bakhsh published from Matba Salafiya, Lahore in 1381 H./1962 It may be noted here that Rahim Bakhsh did not mentioned the name of this book in his *Hayat -i- Wali* ⁴

* *Qurrat al- Aynain fi Ibtal Shahadat al- Husain* (قرّة العينين في ابطال شهادة الحسين)

* *Al- Jannat al- `Aliah fi Manaqib al- Mu`awiyah* (الجنة العالية في مناقب معاوية)

* *Qaul -i- Sadid* (قول سديد)

* *Isharah Mustamirrah*. ⁵ (اشارة مستمرة)

Letters of Shah Waliullah :

The letters of Shah Waliullah have been collected and preserved by Shah Muhammad `Ashiq Phulati (d 1187H/1773) and his son Abdur Rahman and compiled in two volumes. As the statement of Sayid A A Rizvi the first volume containing 281 and second volume 77 letters. ⁶ A complete copy of first volume exists in the Raja Library, Rampur ⁷

¹-Mulla `Ali al- Qari, *Al-Maudhu`at al-Kabirah*, with Urdu tr by Maulana Habibur Rahmani Kandhlvi, Quran Mahal, Karachi, n d p 325, Shaikh Nasiruddin al- Albani, *Silsilah al-Ahadith al- Dha ifah wal- Maudhu`ah*, al- Maktab al- Islami, Beirut, 1405H/1985, Vol 1, pp 299- 300, (serial no 282), Thanauallah Amritsari, Fatawa Thanaiyah, Islamic Publishing House, Lahore, 1972, pp 335-36

² - Al- Qaul al- Jali, op cit , p 78

³ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit , p 291- 92, Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 145, A D Muztar, op cit , p 190

⁴ - Hayat -i- Wali , op cit , p 545- 580

⁵ - Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 145, A D Muztar. p 190

⁶ - Shah Wali Allah and His Times, op cit , p 224, A D Muztar, p 187

⁷ - Ibid, p 224

* *Majmu'a Makatib* (مجموعہ مکاتیب) (Persian) The two volumes of Shah Waliullah's letters the first of which preserved by Shah Abdur Rahman Phulati and the second of which by his father Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati Urdu translation of the two volumes by Nasim Ahmad Faridi with introduction of Professor Nithar Ahmad Faruqi have been Published by Shah Waliullah Academy, Phulat, from Bharat Offset Press, Delhi in 1419 H/1998 The first volume consists 152 letters¹ and the second volume contains 163 letters²

* *Shah Waliullah ki Saivasi Maktubat* (شاہ ولی اللہ کی سیاسی مکتوبات) It is a collection of 26 letters of Shah Waliullah which he wrote to various politically influential persons It has been collected and presented in book form with Urdu translation by Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami It was published from Aligarh in 1950 and with more 17 other letters from Delhi in 1969 The book has been translated into Bengali by Muhammad Abul Bashir and published from Islamic Foundation, Dhaka, Bangladesh in 1407H

* *Maktubat al- Ma'arif* (مکتوبات المعارف) (Persian) Maulana Rahim Bakhsh and Nawshahravi included it in the class of *Tasawuf*³ Dr Mazhar Baqa and Professor Yasir Mazhar Siddiqi listed it in the group of letters⁴ It was published by Matba' al-'Ulum, Saharanpur in 1304H and by Matba' Mujaibai, Delhi, n d

* *Kalimat Tayibat* (کلمات طیبات) (Arabic and Persian) A collection of 24 letters relating to mystical discussions which have sent by Shah Waliullah to Mazhar Jan -i- Janan, Khawaja Muhammad Amin, Shah Abu Sa'id and others It has been published by Matba' Mujaibai, Delhi in, 1891, 1909, and by Abul Khair Academy, Delhi in 1983

¹ - Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullahi, op cit, Vol 1, pp 15- 473

² Ibid, Vol II, pp 17- 338

³ - Hayat -i- Wali, op cit, p 577, Tarajim Ulama -i- Hadith Hind, op cit, p 35

⁴ - Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, op cit, p 140, Shah Waliullah Dehlavi op cit p 26

* *Al-Maktub al-Madani* (المكتوب المدني) (Arabic) The details of the booklet have been given earlier¹

* Letters mentioned by Rahim Bakhsh: He has mentioned 10 letters in his book which have been sent by Shah Waliullah to his teachers in *Hyaz*, Shaikh Abu Tahir Kurdi, Wafdullah Makkı and others.² Rahim Bakhsh further claimed that a large collection of letters of the Shah was in his possession³

¹ - In the group of Tasawuf, *supra*, p 78

² - *Hayat -i- Wali*, op cit , pp 513- 536

³ - *Ibid*, p 513

Chapter III

Shah Waliullah's `Aqida and Mazhab

Section I - His `Aqida in General

Shah Waliullah's `aqida (faith) was the `aqida of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama`ah* and he was the direct follower of the Quran and *Sunnah*. He stated that it was his duty to establish the believe of earlier *Ahl al-Sunnah* with documents and evidences.¹ He was heavenly inspired to call the people to the *Sunnite* and to right `aqida derived from the *Sunnah*.² He advised the people to accept the faith of earlier *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama`ah* and abandon those matters which have not been explained by earlier pious (*salaf*) and to not give attention to the doubts raised by logicians.³

In the certificate granted for his some students Shah Waliullah claimed that he was *Ash`arite* in `aqida.⁴ In support of *Ash`arite* the Shah said that according to his view the school of Abul Hasan Ash`ari (d.260H./873) impressed him, his school is the representation of the school of the companions (of the Prophet). The truth is that his school is right, because that is the terminology of the first stage (companions of the Prophet). He further said that if you want to bring into consideration the way and method of companions, you find only the *Ash`ari*-school on right path. This is their way which it is necessary for their followers to follow. Any imitating group when refuses to follow that way is surely commits mistake.⁵ But according to Shah Waliullah

¹ - Al- Juz al- Latif, op cit , p 28 " عقائد قنماء أهل السنة بدلائل وحجج اثبات كرين "

² - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 2/237- 38

³ - Wasiyat Nama, op cit , p 1

⁴ - In the copy of Sahih al- Bukhari which the Shah used to recite at the time of teaching he has written "كتبه الفقير إلى رحمة الله الكريم ولي الله بن عبد الرحيم ... العمري نسبا الدهلوي وطنا الأشعري عقيدة" The copy is available in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna (Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit , pp 108- 9, Mufti Sa'id Ahmad Palanpuri, Rahmatullah al-Wasi'ah Sharh Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Maktaba Hijaz, Deoband, 1422H /2001, introduction, Vol I, p 51)

⁵ - Shah Waliullah, Al-Khair al-Kathir, Majlis `Ilmi, Dhabel, Madina Barqi Press, Bijnore, 1352H / 1933, pp 123- 24 English tr by G N Jalbani, Lahore, 1968, pp 179, 182 " ولمذهب الشيخ أبي الحسن عندنا وقع ، و مذهبه من تماثيل مذهب الصحابة "

was their wrong idea.¹ The Shah was against the method of scholastics (*mutakallimun*). He said, "The innovations which brought by the *mutakallimun* are worth nothing and should not be followed."² He advised the *sufis* to not follow the *zahir* (who take apparent meaning only) *Muhaddithin* and talkative *Fuqaha* and scholastics and rationalists.³ In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* the Shah said, "The people had compiled many books on scholastic theology (*'Ilm al-Kalam*) and multiplied the debating, questioning and answering and laying the ground work of argumentation."⁴

Regarding the *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah* the Shah stated, "*Ahl al-Sunnah* is not actually a name for any particular school of scholasticism (*kalam*). Rather the issues concerning which people of the *Qibla* disagreed and due to which became separate sects and distinct factions beyond their following the essentials of religion (*dharuriyat al-Din*) are two categories :

One category (issue) are those which the *Quranic* verses spoke of, the *Sunnah* confirmed, and followed by the earlier generations (*salaf*) among the companions (*Sahaba*) and their successors (*Tabi'un*). When the pride of person in his own opinion manifested itself and the paths diverged among them, one group accepted the apparent meaning of the holy Quran and *Sunnah* and fast strongly (with their teeth) the beliefs of the earlier pious (*salaf*) and did not pay any attention to whether those agreed with rational principles or whether they contradict them. Those are the people of *Ahl al-Sunnah*. In opposition to them a group chose the method of misinterpreting and turning back from the apparent meaning (of the Quran and *Sunnah*), because according to them those contrasting the rational principles."⁵

In connection of successful group (*firqah najiyah*) the Shah said, "Those were who hold in their faith and practice the apparent meaning of the Quran

7- *Izalat al-Khafa'an Khilafat al-Khulafa*, with Urdu translation, Muhammad Abdush Shakur Mujaddidi, Karachi, 1385H, introduction, Vol 1, p 10, infra, section, II, p 105

² - Al-Khair al-Kathir, op cit, p 122 "و أما ما ابتدعه المتكلمون فليس بشيء، ولا يجب اتباعه"

³ - Al-Qaul al-Jamil, op cit, p 194

⁴ - *Hujjatullah al-Balighah*, Chapter . Hikayat Hal a-Nas Qabl , op cit, p 1/370

⁵ - Ibid, introduction, p 1/40

and *Sunnah* and the way followed by the *Sahaba* and *Tabi'un* And the unsuccessful group were who embraced the opposite faith and contradict the practice of earlier pious "¹

The Shah was always against the so called rationalist, philosophers and *Mu'tazilite* in the matters of *'aqida* As he stated, "And the innovators (*mubtadi'ah*) evoked doubts on the many Islamic issues saying that they are contradictory to reason and that anything contradicted to their reason must be rejected or interpreted "² Expressing his disagreement with scholastics the Shah said that in his epoch argumentation had prevailed because of mixing the Greek knowledge (with the Islamic knowledge) And the nation had begun to struggle in the scholasticism in such way that every discussion on *'aqaid* had been mingled with the logical argumentation ³ In another place the Shah said, "Beware of innovations, as they are a deviation from the right course and paying any attention to the people called themselves philosophers Allah has made them misguided in spite of their knowledge and has failed them into their thinking, so they can not find a way to escape themselves If you want to know the reality of things and the deep secret then remember that their (philosophers) knowledge in this connection is of no use and will not help you in any way "⁴ In another place the Shah said that, the speeches of philosophers and *Mu'tazilite* due to misinterpreting the Book of Allah and the *Sunnah* according to their whims were not acceptable ⁵ In his *Altaf al- Quds* the Shah said, "As for me, the followers of philosophers in *'aqaid* which contradict the *'aqaid* of the Prophets are foolish like dogs even worst than dogs "⁶

Some writers counted al-Baqillani, Ibn Furak, al- Isfrajeni, Shirazi, al-Ghazali, Shahrastani and al- Razi in the group of those latest scholastics who

¹ - Hujjatullah al- Baligha Chapter Al-I tisam bil-Kitab wal-Sunnah, op cit p 1/406

² - Ibid, introduction, pp 1/38-39

³ - Al- Tashimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 1/83

⁴ - Al- Khair al- Katir, op cit , p 130

⁵ - Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta , op cit p 2/505 (Discussion on the Hadith relating to Mizan)

⁶ - Shah Waliullah , Altaf al- Quds, Matba Ahmadi, Delhi , 1305 H , p 50 "تابعان فلاسفه در عقائد
مخالفه عقائد انبياء الله برديك من سگان اند بلکه کمتر از سگان سگ"

had written huge books in *'aqida*¹ and they had misinterpreted the texts of Attributes of Allah and claimed that those were the *'aqida* of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah*, whereas those were not the *'aqida* of *Ahl al-Sunnah*² Then Imam Ibn Taimiyah came and supported the school of earlier pious and clarified their original *'aqida* and refuted the opinion of those *Ash'arite* scholastics³

Maulana Shibli Nu mani said that in the times of Shah Waliullah the scholastic (*kalam*) books of *Ash'arite* were prevailing, therefore, the Shah's instructions were in that method But as a researcher he was not influenced by those instructions at all In general, the Shah was against all exceptional cases of *Ash'arite*⁴

Maulana Shibli Nu mani further stated that the arrangers of modern scholasticism (*ilm Kalam*) and references were Abu Muslim Ispahani, Ibn Hazm, Imam Ghazali, Raghīb Ispahani, Ibn Rushd, Imam Razi and Shah Waliullah⁵ With full respect to Maulana Nu'mani it would be mentioned here that there is no modernity and new basis of *'aqida* But it has been settled by the Quran and Sunnah and accepted by the earlier pious⁶ We merely can say that the Shah tried to revive the old pure *'aqida* and save it from the corruption, as he claimed that his *'aqida* was the *'aqida* of earlier pious and he should try to re-establish it with documents⁷ As well as his duty was to remove the differences among the scholastics and reconcile among them⁸

In another place Maulana Nu mani said, " In view of the downfall of reason and rationalism which has commenced after Ibn Taimiyah and Ibn Rushd -- nay ever during their times -- there existed no hope that a man of

¹ - Dr Abdullah al- Ghunaiman, op cit , p 19

² - Ibid, Vol 1, p 25

³ - Ibid , Vol 1, p 19

⁴ - Shibli Nu mani , *Ilmi al-Kalam* , Dar al- Musannifin , Azamgarh, 1984 , p 111

⁵ - Ibid, p 6

⁶ - Hafiz Abu Abdullah al- Zahabi *Al-Muntaqa min Minhaj al- I tizal fi Naqdh Kalam Ahl al- Rafdh wal-I tizal*, (summarization of Minhaj al- Sunnah of Imam Ibn Taimiyah) ed Muhibbuddin al- Khatib, Ministry of Islamic Affairs , Riyadh , 1418, p 120

⁷ - Al- Juz al- Latif, op cit , p 28, supra, p 85

⁸ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 1/278, 2/15-16

subtle disposition of heart and mind would be born. But nature had willed to display its miracles. During the last age, when Islam was breathing its last, was born a man like Shah Waliullah whose ingenuity and discernment made the achievements of Ghazali, Razi and Ibn Rushd dwindle into insignificance "¹

With full respect to the scholar like Maulana Shibli Nu'mani, it would be mentioned here that Imam Ibn Taimiyah's method in the expression and explanation of *'aqida* is totally distinct from those who have been mentioned with him in the above. Those are not free from the philosophical and rational method but many times dependent on it. In opposition to it Imam Ibn Taimiyah totally rejected the philosophical and rational method in the field of *'aqida*. Yes, he was profound in their knowledge and method, so he succeeded to refute them strongly with full confidence, and wrote against them and their method many books. Like: *Dar'u Ta'arudh al-'Aql wal- Naql*,² *Minhaj al-Sunnah*,³ *Al-Radd 'alal- Mantiqiyin*⁴ etc.. In his encyclopedic book in the relevant subject, *Dar'u Ta'arudh al-'Aql wal- Naql* he criticized above mentioned Ibn Rushd (d.595H./1198) 138 times and al- Ghazali (d.505H./1111) 132 times and al- Razi (d.606H./1210) 281 times.⁵ In spite of these historical and practical evidences how Maulana Shibli placed Imam Ibn Taimiyah in the same line of Ibn Rushd, Imam Ghazali and al-Razi ?

Maulana Shibli Nu'mani has found a long gape of time between Ibn Taimiyah and Shah Waliullah. But how he ignored Imam Ibn Qayim al-Jauziyah, (d.751H.) Imam Ibn Kathir (d.774 H.), Hafiz Abu 'Abdullah Al- Zahabi (d.748H./1347), Shaikh Sadruddin Ibn Abi al-'Izz al- Hanafi (d.792H.), Shaikh Abul Yusr Muhammad al-Bazdawī al- Hanafi, the author of *Kitab Usul al- Din* and others who have written a lot of books in the field of *'aqida*.

¹ - 'Ilmi al-Kalam, op cit , p 105- 6

² - It has been published with edition of Dr Muhammad Rashad Salim in 11 volumes by Imam Muhammad bin Sa'ud Islamic University, Riyadh in 1403 H /1983

³ - It has been published in 4 volumes by Matba' Bulaq, Egypt in 1322 H, and with edition of Dr Muhammad Rashad Salim in 2 volumes by Maktaba Dar al- Arubah, Cairo in 1384H / 1964, and also by Imam Muhammad bin Sa'ud Islamic University, Riyadh in a few volumes

⁴ - It has been published with edition of Abdus Samad al- Kutbi, Bombay, India in 1368H /1949

⁵ - *Dar'u Ta'arudh al-'Aql wal- Naql*, Vol 11, (index) pp 155- 56, 227- 28, 209-11

The latest *Ash`arite* in spite of their acceptance of all Attributes of Allah interpreted all Attributes except seven like *Hay*, *`Alim*, *Qadir*, *Murid*, *Sami`*, *Basir* and *Mutakallim*.¹ So they interpreted the two Hand of Allah as Might (*Qudrah*) and two Eyes of Allah as Sight (*Basar*) and the Face of Allah (*Wajh*) as Existence (*Wujud*).² In this respect Imam Abu Hanifa (d.150H /767) said, "Allah's all Attributes (*Sifat*) are dissimilar to the attributes of creatures He has Hand, Face and Soul as He mentioned in the holy Quran Those are Attributes of Allah without the question of how (*kaif*). It should not be said that Hand means might or grace, because in this kind of interpretation rejecting the Attributes, and that is the opinion *Qadariyah* and *Mu'tazilite*. But His Hand is His Attribute without description. Same as His Anger (*Ghadhab*) and His Pleasure (*Ridha*) are the two Attributes of Allah without questioning what sort of manner."³ Imam Abu Ja'far al- Tahawi al- Hanafi (d.321H) and Sadruddin Ibn Abi al- `Izz al- Hanafi(d.792H.) also expressed the same faith⁴

In this matter Shah Waliullah disagreed with the *Ash`arite* scholars and said, "While others said that seeing and hearing were two independent Attributes. The groups agreed that Allah is living, knowing, willing, powerful, speaking and they said that there is a difference between those seven Attributes and (other Attributes) like mercy (*Rahmah*), anger (*Ghadhab*) and generosity (*Jood*) in this respect.⁵ In refusing the faith of *Ash`arite* the Shah said, "The earlier pious were unanimous in believing in Allah's Attributes according to His wish and as He obligated it (to the men) to declare Him as dissimilar with the

¹ - Imam Abu Hamid al- Ghazali, *Ihya' `Ulum al- Din*, Dar al- Khair, Beirut 1414 H /1994, Vol 1, p 119, Imam al- Ghazzali also interpreted this kind of Attributes and took metaphorecal meaning, see his *Ijam al- Awam`an Ilm al- Kalam*, Idarat al- Tiba'ah al- Muniriyyah, Beirut, n d p 6

² - Abul Ma`ali al- Juaini, Imam al- Haramain, *Kitab al- Irshad ila Qawati` al- Adillah fi Usul al- I'tiqad*, ed Muhammad yousuf Musa, Maktaba al- Khanj, Egypt, 1369/1950, p 155, Allama Badruddin al- Ayni, *Umdat al- Qari*, Sharh Sahih al- Bukhari, Dar al- Fikr, Beirut, 1418H/1998, *Kitab al- Tauhid*, Vol 16, p 605

³ - Imam Abu Hanifa, *Al- fiqh al- Akbar*, Wazarat al- Ma`arif al- Nizamiyah, Hyderabad, 1342H p 6 "و صفاته كلها بخلاف صفات المخلوقين. وله يد ووجه ونفس كما ذكره الله تعالى في القرآن، فهو له صفات بلا كيف. ولا يقال ان يده قدرته او نعمته، لأن فيه ابطال الصفة، وهو قول أهل القدر والاعتزال، ولكن يده صفته بلا كيف. و غضبه و رضاه صفتان من صفات الله تعالى بلا كيف."

⁴ - Sharh al- `Aqidah al- Tahawiyah, Sadruddin Ibn Abi al- `Izz al- Hanafi, ed Shaikh Ahmad Muhammad Shakir, Wazarat al- Shu`un al- Islamiyah, Riyadh, 1418 H, pp 180- 195

⁵ - Hujjatullah al- Balighah, op cit, introduction, p 41

creatures by His verse, "Nothing is like Him."¹ And whoever obligates the opposite thought he contradicts the way of earlier pious. I say that there is no difference among the hearing, seeing, having power, laughing, speaking and *Istiwa* (existing upon the *'Arsh*).² Opposing the so called rationalist and supporting the *Ahl al- Hadith* the Shah said, "Those speculators behaved contemptuously towards the people of Hadith calling them corporealists and anthropomorphists and saying that they should refuge in the formula of 'without asking how' (*al-mutasattiruna bi-l- bakiyya*). It has become eminently clear to me that this contempt of theirs is unfounded and that they are in their sayings both from the view point of textual documents and of reason and that they are mistake commiter in attacking the leaders of true guidance."³

Shah Waliullah has discussed the matters of *Tauhid*, *Shirk* and belief in Allah's Attributes in his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*.⁴ Almost his discussions on the *'Aqida* are based upon the Quran and *Sunnah* and according to the earlier pious. While discussing on the degrees of *Tauhid*⁵ the Shah said that the first stage of it is to restrict the necessary existing (*Ujub al- Wujud*) to Allah.⁶

The objection is raising here that the term of 'necessary existing' was unknown to the earlier pious (*salaf*) and this is the term of philosophers, then how Shah Waliullah used this kind of word in the matter of *tauhid* ? In answer it may be said that the necessary existing of Allah is self-evident or axiomatic truth rather than philosophical term, therefore, the Shah used this word. However, if Shah Waliullah did not use this kind of words especially in

¹ - Ayat no 11, Surah al- Shura

² - Hujjatullah al- Balighah, op cit , p 1/165, (chapter, Al- Iman bi- Sifatillah) "انهم اتفقوا على الايمان به على الوجه الذي اراد الله تعالى منها وأوجب تنزيهه عن مشابهة المخلوقات بقوله: " ليس كمثله شيء " فمن أوجب خلاف ذلك بعده، فقد خالف سبيلهم. أقول ولا فرق بين السمع والبصر والقدرة والضحك والكلام والاستواء."

³ - Ibid , p 1/ 165 : وقالوا : " مشبهة، وسموهم مجسمة ومشبهة، وقالوا : " هم المستترون بالبلغة". وقد وضع علي وضوحا بيتا أن استطالتهم هذه ليست بشيء، و أنهم مخطئون في مقالتهم رواية و دراية و خاطئون في طعنهم في أئمة الهدى."

⁴ - Ibid, Vol 1, Chpter Al-Tauhid, pp 1/152- 53, Chapter Haqiqat al- Shirk, pp 1/155- 59, Chapter Aqdam al- Shirk, pp 1/159-63, Chapter Al- Iman bi- Sifatillahi Ta'ala, pp 1/163- 68

⁵ - For details of the 4 degrees of Tauhid see infra, section III, pp 124- 25

⁶ Hujjatullah al- Balighah, p 1/153, Al- Aqidah al- Hasanah , op cit , p 13, Al - Tafhimat, op cit p 1/144

the field of *'aqida* it would have been more appropriate to his claims and general method adopted by him

In some books the Shah mentioned that when he was in Makkah in some dreams he felt that Imam Hasan and Hosain (R) were giving him a pen saying that it was their grand father's (Prophet's) pen ¹ On this statement this objection has been raised that Prophet Muhammad was illiterate, and he did not know how to read and write and it was one of the characteristics of him and it has been proved by the Quranic Verses ² and Hadith also ³ Then how Shah Waliullah claimed that Hasan and Hosain (R) gave him the pen of their maternal grand father, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)? Besides this, some opportunist orientalists who are trying to prove Muhammad (Sm) as a literate person and not as the Prophet derived from this statement that Muhammad (Sm) was a literate man and knew how to write as much as average merchant of Makka ⁴

In answer it would be said that the Shah described a matter of dream only, and the pen has been given by Hasan and Hosain not by the Prophet himself, and the Shah felt it only in the dream not he really got it The dream would be taken in metaphorical meaning, and that is the power of writing in the important subjects which the Shah has been bestowed , as it has been stated by the Shah himself in his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* and *al-Durr al-Thamin* ⁵

Secondly, being a thing in the possession of some one does not make necessary that he can use it. Suppose, if there was a pen in the possession of

¹ - Hujjatullah al- Baligha, op cit , introduction, p 27, Al- Durr al- Thamin fi Mubashsharat al- Nabi al- Amin, (Matba Ahmadi, Delhi), op cit , p 2 , (Matba Nur al- Anwar, Arah), op cit , p 56, (Transmission no 3)

² - Surah al- A raf, Ayat no 156, (الَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَ الرَّسُولَ النَّبِيَّ الْأُمِّيَّ) and Surah al- Ankabut Ayat no 48, (وَمَا كُنْتَ تَتْلُو مِنْ قَبْلِهِ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَلَا تَخُطُّهُ بِيَمِينِكَ إِذَا لَارْتَابَ الْمُبْطِلُونَ)

³ - Sahih al- Bukhri, Saum , Hadith No 13, Sahih Muslim , Siyam, Hadith No 15 As the Prophet said " اَنَا أُمِّيَّةٌ لَا أُكْتُبُ وَلَا أُقْرَأُ " ..

⁴ - J M S Baljon, op cit , foot note no 9, p 17

⁵ - Hujjatullah al- Balighah, op cit , introduction, p 27, رايبت الامامين في المنام كانهما اعطيناني , Al- Dur al- Thamin, (Matba Ahmadi) p 3, (Matba Nur- ..

the Prophet, was it obligatory that he must use it? There are many pens in many shops of illiterate salesmen and they do not know how to write.

Thirdly, the Shah never said that the Prophet was illiterate but in his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* mentioned that the Prophet was illiterate.¹ In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* the Shah indicated the Prophet's illiteracy and said that the Prophet was always inclining to Allah and waiting for receiving the knowledge from Him and he used to obtain knowledge from Him directly.²

In his *Al-'Aqidah al-Hasanah* the Shah said that the Movement and transformation are not suitable to Allah.³ Although he believed in descending (النزول) of Allah⁴ as it has been proved by the Quran⁵ that Allah will descend to the earth in the day of judgement,⁶ as well as by the Hadith that Allah used to descend to the sky nearest to the earth every night.⁷ Hafiz Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani (d.852H./1449) mentioned the consensus (*ijma'*) of *Ahl al-Sunnah* on the descending of Allah and His descending is as suitable to His Highness without similarity and without the question of how.⁸

In his *'aqidah al-Hasanah* the Shah mentioned many basic points relating to the *'aqida* in a very easy language⁹ and those are exact *'aqida* of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah*.¹⁰ Of those points faith in Allah, His angels, the Quran, resurrection, accounting, reward, bridge, measure, paradise, hell, the great

" فمن يومئذ انشرح صدري للتصنيف في العلوم الشرعية " (al-Anwar), p 56,

¹ - Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, op cit, p 2/13 As he said " اللهم صل على محمد النبي الأمي وآله " ,

² - Hujjatullah al-Balighah, chapter. Haqiqat al-Nabuwah wa Khawassuha, Vol I, p 210- 213

³ - Al-'Aqidah al-Hasanah, With commentary of Muhammad owais Nagami entitled 'Al-Aqidah al-Sunniyah', Nadwadul Ulama, Lucknow, 1962, p 31- 32, Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, p 1/145, " ولا يصح عليه الحركة والانتقال " .

⁴ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Iman bi Sifatillah, p 1/165, " وهل في البطش والنزول استحالة...؟ "

⁵ - Surah al-Fajr, Ayat no 22 (و جاء ربك والملك صفا صفا)

⁶ - Imam Abul Fida Isma'il Ibn Kathir, Tafsir al-Quran al-'Azim, Dar al-Mufid, Beirut, 1403H/1983, vol 4, p 89

⁷ - Sahih al-Bukhari, Kitab at-Tauhid, Hadith no. 7494 As the Prophet said " ينزل ربنا تبارك وتعالى كل ليلة الى سماء الدنيا حين يبقى ثلث الليل الآخر " .

⁸ - Hafiz Ibn Hajar Asqalani, Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, Dar al-Rayan, Cairo, 1407H/1987, Kitab al-Tauhid, Vol 13, p 418

⁹ - For details of the book, see supra, chapter II, section V p 72

¹⁰ - Except some disputed books which have been mentioned earlier, supra, p 83- 85

sin (*kabira*) commiter Muslim, recommendation (*shafa`ah*), punishment in the grave, Prophets, respect of the companions of the Prophet, four righteous Caliphs, order for good work and forbidding from bad deed.¹

In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, coinciding with the earlier *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama`ah* the Shah manifested that the faith (*iman*) increases and decreases and it has many branches.² Regarding the deeds of men the Shah said that in this subject Shaikh Abul Hasan al-Ash`ari's opinion was right as he said that the deeds of the servant (of Allah) were created and the servant was choosier and his choice was created.³

In the connection of Shah Waliullah's *`aqida* Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi said, "The entire world of Islam, particularly those countries which had succumbed to intellectual and cultural influences of Iran had, for the past several hundred years, yielded virtually to a sort of mental serfdom to Greek philosophy. Their hair-splittings and ratiocinations had invented explanations for Divine Attributes which had rendered them meaningless. They had nothing but contempt for the scholars of old. Shah Waliullah's own bent of mind approving the older school of thought in regard to Divine Names and Attributes, his disinclination towards the views of philosophers and theological scholastics whose hair-splittings very often divested the Divine Being of all power and authority, and the great regard he had for the Hadith and Sunnah of the Prophet led him to recognize the greatness of Ibn Taimiyah and defend him against his detractors. Ibn Taimiyah had, in the immediate past, been severely censured, but Shah Waliullah paid glowing tribute to him."⁴ As the Shah said, "Nothing in the writings of Ibn Taimiyah is unsupported by textual authority from the Quran and *Sunnah* or the practice of the earliest pious Muslims. He was an scholar of exceptional abilities. Is anybody can be compared with him

¹ - Al-`Aqidah al-Hasanah, op cit, from begining to page 70, Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyah, op cit, p 1/144- 48

² - Hujjatullah al-Balighah, chapter Iman, op cit, Vol I, p 393 "وهو يزيد وينقص... وله شعب كثيرة.."

³ - Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, p 2/112

⁴ - Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit, p 116 - 17

either in speech or writing ? Those who have decried him do not possess even one tenth of Ibn Taimiyah's talents "¹

Discussing the *'aqida* of Shah Waliullah Maulana Maududi stated that he had saved himself from the bondage of thought of Greek But it is not truth that he became fully free from that thought ²

There is no doubt in it that the book *al- Khir al- Kathir* and *al- Budur al- Bazigha* of Shah Waliullah bear philosophical and metaphysical manner but he did not use them in establishing any new *'aqida* or corrupting any established *'aqida* in the times of earlier pious men (*salaf salih*) which has been settled by the Quran and *Sunnah* Moreover, Professor Yasir Mazhar said that the *Al- Khair al- Kathir* has been compiled by Shah Muhammad 'Ashiq Phulati in 1161 H /1847 ³

However, the Shah did not reject the reasoning for refutation the reasons applied against Islam In his *Hujjatullah al- Baligha* he said that the earlier pious used the reason in theological discussion only to impose their opinion on their adversaries and to stop them by the argument and to refute them and to increase their own confidence not for benefit in the issues of belief ⁴

Shah Waliullah declared his disconnection from any kind of mistake and he apologized if it was issued from him As he stated, " Hence, I disassociate myself from every opinion which emerged in contradiction to a verse of the Book of Allah, or a practice established on the authority of the Prophet of Allah, or the consensus of the people of the ages certified with goodness or anything has been chosen by the great majority of the *mujtahids* and almost Muslims If anything like that occurs then it is an error, may Allah

¹ - Manaqib Imam Bukhari wa Fadhilat Ibn Taimiyah , op cit , p 27, (In the Saviours of Islamic Spirit of Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi , the above said statement has been referred to the *Al- Taffimat al- Ilahiya* of the Shah wrongly , ibid , foot note, p 119)

² - Tajdid wa Ihya -i- Din , *Al- Furqan Journal*, Waliullah Number, op cit , p 104

³ - Shah Waliullah Dehlawi, op cit , p 23 For details of the book see supra , Chapter II, section V, pp 72

⁴ - *Hujjatullah al- Balighah*, introduction, op cit , p 1/40

- may He be exalted - have mercy on the one who awakens us from our drowsiness or alerts us to our negligence. And those who research in deduction and derivation from the speeches of earlier peoples and ascribe themselves to the school of argumentation and debate, it is not necessary for us to agree with their every useless speech"¹

"و ها أنا برئ من كل مقالة صدرت مخالفة لآية من كتاب الله أو سنة قائمة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أو اجماع القرون المشهود لها بالخير أو ما اختاره جمهور المسلمين و معظم سواد المسلمين. فان وقع شيء من ذلك فانه خطأ ، رحم الله تعالى من أيقظنا من سنتنا أو نبهنا من غفلتنا. أما هؤلاء الباحثون بالتخريج والاستنباط من كلام الأوائل المنتحلون مذهب المناظرة و المجادلة فلا يجب علينا أن نوافقهم في كل ما يتقوهون"

Section II - His Stand With Shi'ite

The predominance of Iranian nobility in the days of Shah Waliullah had given rise to a sort of intellectual anarchy among the Muslims,¹ had shaken not only their creed and social behaviour but also endangered the continuance of their authority over the country. *Shi'a-Sunni* conflict had indeed played no small part in the political decline of Muslim India.² Some *Sunni* spiritual leader and scholar³ and Empire⁴ also have been killed by Shi'ites. The communal riots were specially happened in the month of *Muharram*.⁵

Some writers mentioned that the Shi'ite has broken the hand of Shah Waliullah.⁶ But professor Azduddin Khan historically, logically and practically proved that the story of breaking the hand of Shah Waliullah was not right.⁷ Some writers has hinted that the Shah intended to journey to *Hijaz* for save himself from the enmity of *Shi'a*.⁸ But the Shah's own statement did not prove that it was a basic cause of his journey to *Hijaz*. The Shah Said that after deep study and teaching more or less twelve years he had a great yearning to perform the *Hajj* and visiting the two holy Mosques.⁹ Some other writers mentioned that Shah Waliullah went to *Haramain* for completion the higher study in Hadith.¹⁰

¹ - Supra, chapter 1, section III, pp 21-23

² - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, pp 182-83, Manazir Ahsan Ghilani, Tazkira -i- Hazrat Shah Waliullah, Nafis academy, Karachi, 1959, pp 150-55, 163-79

³ - Mirza Mazhar Jan -i- Janan, A renowned Islamic scholar, Sufi leader and poet has been killed by Shi'ite in the month of Muharram, 1195H/1781 (A A Rizvi, op cit, p 340, A D Muztar, op.cit, p.112

⁴ - Mughal Empire Farrukh Siyar (1713-19) has been killed by Shi'ite Ministers, Siyed brothers named Abdullah Khan and Hosain Ali (Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Cambridge History of India, op cit., Vol. IV, p. 332, Abul Hasan Nadwi, pp. 32-33)

⁵ - Shah Abdul Aziz, Malfuzat -i- Aziziya, op cit, p 117, A A Rizvi, pp 190-94, A D Muztar, p 112

⁶ - Amir Shah Khan, Amir al-Rewayah, with marginal commentary of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanavi, Kutub Khana Imdadiya, Saharanpur, 1352H p 33, Manazir Ahsan Ghilani, p 278 In another case relating to conservative Maulavis not to Shi'as, Mirza Hairat Dihlavi, Hayat -i- Tayiba, op cit, pp 26-28, Rahim Bakhsh, op cit, pp 307-10

⁷ - Armughan -i- Sa'id, op cit, pp 23-32, see also A D Muztar, pp 45-46

⁸ - Mirza Hairat Dihlavi, p. 29

⁹ - Al-Juz al-Latif, p 26, supra, chapter 2, section II, pp 41-43

¹⁰ - Rahim Bakhsh, p 422

Shah Waliullah has given a particular attention to the subject and has presented his theological opinion on *Sunni* and *Shi'a* based upon the authentic references.

Shah Abdul Aziz (d.1239 H./1823) Stated that someone asked his father (Shah Waliullah) whether the Shi'ites were infidels. Then he repeatedly mentioned the different opinions of the *Hanafi* jurists on the matter. The man was not satisfied with the answer of Shah Waliullah and blamed him that he (the Shah) also was Shi'ite.¹ Shah Abdul Aziz further mentioned that some extremist Shi'ite had a good relation and nearness to their (Shah's) family.²

Based upon the above said occurrences some writers has conceived that Shah Waliullah's view on Shi'ism was favourable. In this connection Dr. A A Rizvi said, "Shah Waliullah unlike many narrow minded Rohilas and the *Hanafi* 'Ulama of Transaxiana, did not go so far as to unequivocally declare shi'its to be infidels".³ At the same time with reference to the *Qurrat al-Aynain* of the Shah he mentioned that the Shah wrote that the *Mu'tazilah*, *Imamiya* and *Isma'iliya* (two groups of Shi'ites) were outside the main body of Islam.⁴ Dr. Rizvi did not clarify what is the difference between the infidelity and being outside the main body of Islam.

Shah Waliullah was a pure and uncompromising *Sunni* Muslim in spite of his good familial or personal relationship with some of Shi'ite. His opinions in favour of *Ahl al-Sunnah* and against Shi'ite are very clear. In his *Al-Khusr al-Kathir* he mentioned the Hadith in which the Prophet (PBUH) said, "Very soon my community will be divided into seventy - three sects. All of those sects will inter the hell-fire except only one sect"⁵ then passed his opinion the Sunnite is one who follows the practice of the Prophet both in theory

¹ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz (Persian), op cit , p 32

² - Ibid , p 37

³ - Shah Wali Allah and His Times, op cit , p 249

⁴ - *Qurrat al-Aynain fi Tafdhil al-Shaikhain*, Delhi, 1892, p 314

⁵ - Abu Dawud , *Al-Sunnah*, Hadith No. 4596, Tirmizi, *Al-Iman*, Hadith No 2640

and practice. Such an one is however, more entitled to be the inmate of paradise.¹

The Shah has asked the Prophet spiritually about the Shi'ites who used to claim their love to *Ahl al-Bait* (Prophet's family) but disface and abuse the companions of the Prophet. Then the Prophet spiritually replied him that their sect (*Mazhab*) is false (*batil*). And this falsehood will be known by the explanation of the word '*Imam*'. The Shah said, "I contemplated in the word *Imam* then understood that the *Imam* in their terminology is a person who is sinless (*ma'sum*), and obedience to whom is obligatory to all people. He has been appointed (from Allah) as guide for all mankind and he receives secret revelation."² Actually they (*Shi'a*) are the denier of the finality of the Prophethood (*Khatam Nabuwat*) although they utter by their tongue only that Prophet Muhammad is the last of the Prophets³ -- may Allah uglify their faces.⁴ Dr. A. A. Rizvi has mistranslated the word 'utterance' of the above mention statement of Shah Waliullah⁵ as 'believe'. As he translated, "...although they believed that Muhammad was the last Prophet"⁶ and then the meaning of the text and the theme of Shah Waliullah has totally been reversed. Because the word 'utterance' actually used here in opposite meaning of the 'belief'.

In his *Izalat al-Khafa* the Shah stated, "The *Rawafidh* (*Shi'ites*) have been generated. The four false sects like *Qadariyah*, *Murjah*, *Khawarij* and

¹ - Al-Khair al-Kathir, op cit, p 122

² - With reference to Al-Hukumat al-Islamiyah of Iranian revolutionary leader Ruhullah Khomeini Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi mentioned that he stated, "It was one of the accepted principles of our religion that the Imams have a degree of nearness to God which is beyond the reach of any angel or Prophet. Our traditions and ahadith clearly state that the greatest Prophets and the Imams were lights before the creation of this universe. Allah allowed these lights to encircle His throne and granted them such nearness and status as is known to God alone." (Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit., p 196)

³ - Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, op cit, pp 2/244, 250, Wasiyat Nama, op cit, p 6, Shah Waliullah, Al-Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah, with Urdu translation, ed Zahiruddin Waliullahi, Army Barqi Press, Delhi, n.d., p 8, "این فقیر در جناب آنحضرت صلی الله علیه و سلم عرض در کرد، و بطلان مذهب ایشان از تأمل در فرقه شیعه ... افاضه فرمودند که مذهب این جماعت باطل است، و تعریف امام ..."

⁴ - Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, p 2/250

⁵ - He said "پس در حقیقت نبوت را منکر اند، گو بزبان آنحضرت را صلی الله علیه و سلم خاتم الانبیاء میگفته باشد." (Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, p 2/244)

⁶ - Shah Waliullah and His Times, op cit, p 249

Rawafidh are like the four humours (*Akhlat Arba'a*)¹ of human body in order to generating all kinds of disease."² In his *Al-Musauwa* The Shah presented his comment on the *Hadith* in which the Prophet said, "The main infidelity will arise from the east."³ and said the meaning of this *Hadith* is to arise of false (*Batil*) sects like *Haruriya*, *Shi'a* and *Mu'tazilah*⁴ In the same book discussing on the *Hadith* in which the Prophet said, "In the day of resurrection about some people it will be said me that they have corrupted (the religion) after you, then I will say them, "Go far away, go far away, go far away"⁵ the Shah quoted the opinion of Imam Ibn Abd al-Barr (d.463H./1071) that he said that those who corrupted the religion and made innovations were the *Khawarij*, *'awafidh* (*Shi'as*) etc..⁶

In his *'Iqd al-Jid* the Shah clearly manifested, "The four *Mazhabs* are dependable but the Shi'ites like *Zaidiya* and *Imamiya* are not trusted, because they are innovators (*Ahl al-Bid'ah*). Therefore, no one should trust their foolishly talks."⁷ In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* the Shah stated that the sects like *Rawafidh* and *Mu'tazilites* used to search the weak and false *Hadiths* infavour of their sects unjustly.⁸ In his *Anfas al-'Arifin* the Shah stated that a *Rafidhi* (*Shi'a*) arrived his father (Shaikh Abdur Rahim) and repented (*tawbah*) of his Shi'ite belief and asked him about what Sufi-order he would embrace, then he advised him to hold the *Qadiriya* order, because the *Shi'as* cherish more enmity to Abdul Qadir Jilani (d.561H./1166).⁹

¹ - *Akhlat -i- Arba'a* . Khun , Safra , Balgam and Sauda (Blood , Yellow bile, phlegm bile and black bile)

² - *Izalat al-Khafa 'an Khilafat al-Khulafa*, op cit , p Vol I, pp 517- 18

³ - *Muwatta Imam Malik with Sharh Al-Musauwa* , op cit , Hadith No 1839 , pp 2/ 468-69 As the Prophet said " رأس الكفر من المشرق "

⁴ - *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta*, p 2/469

⁵ - *Muwatta with Sharh al-Musauwa* , Hadith No 1845

⁶ - *Al-Musauwa* , p 2/472 , Imam Siyuti also mentioned the same, *Tanwir al-Hawalik Sharh 'ala Muwatta Malik* , Dar al-Fikr, Beirut. n d, Chapter *Jami' al-Wadhu*. p 1/51

⁷ - Shah Waliullah , *'Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wa al-Taqlid*, op cit , p 32 اللهم الا " الامامية والزيدية وهم اهل البدعة، لايجوز الاعتماد على أقاويلهم "

⁸ - *Hujjatullah al-Balighah*, op cit , p 1/326

⁹ - *Anfas al-Arifin*, Urdu tr op cit , pp 130- 31

Regarding the mourning (*mutam*) and *Muharram* procession the Shah said, "One of the bad customs is funeral ceremony"¹ And protesting this kind of festivals the Shah said, "O you sons of Adam (A S)¹ You have taken corrupted rites and festivals which changed the religion You get together on the 10th of *Muharram* (*ashura*) and indulge in absurd activities One group amongst you celebrates this day by mourning Do you not know that all days are Allah's days, and all incidents occur with the will of Allah ? If Hosain (R) was martyred on this day else is there any day on which no beloved of Allah died ? Some peoples observe this day as a sports day for playing with spears and other weapons, while others fixed it for particular religious observances You have made the mourn festival ceremony"²

Concerning the caliphate the Shah stated , "The Caliph is of all men acquainted, best with turning empire, waging a holy war and administrating the Shari'a"³ He sees that justice is carried out on the earth and injustice is removed from it as far as possible This can be done , because the light of God envelops him (Caliph) and he receives inspiration (from Allah)⁴ As for Shah Waliullah, the caliphate of four rightly guided Caliphs has been proved by the Quran and Hadith directly and indirectly Refusing the claim of latest Ash'arite scholars that there was no direct evidence in the Quran and Hadith on their caliphate, the Shah said that their that claim was wrong⁵ Abu Bakr (R) is the true leader (*Imam*) after the Prophet (PBUH) then Umar (R) then 'Uthman (R) then 'Ali (R) afterwards the caliphate has been ended and then began snappish monarchy Abu Bakr Siddiqui (R) is the most eminent (*afdhal*) personality of the nation (*Ummah*) then comes 'Umar (R) Prophet Muhammad was the supreme leader of the nation (*Amir al- Millat*) and Abu Bakr and

¹ - Wasiyat Nama, op cit , p 9, (Wasiyat No 7), Al-Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 2/246

² - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, p 1/218

³ - Al- Budur al- Bazigha , op cit , p 174

⁴ - Ibid, p 72

⁵ - Izzalat al- Khafa, op cit , p 1/10, supra , Chapter III, Section I, p 89 Hafiz Abu Abdullah al- Zahabi mentioned that Imam Shafi'i , Abul Hasan al- Ash'ari himself and Ibn Hazam had proved the caliphate of Abu Bakr (R) by the Ayat no 16 of Surah al- Fath (قُلْ لِلْمُحَلِّينَ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ), (Al- Muntaka min Minhaj al- I'tidal fi Naqdh Kalam Ahl al- Rafdh wal- I'tizal , op cit , p 590)

'Umar were his two Ministers (*Wazirs*).¹ In his *Al-Khair al-Kathir* the Shah further mentioned that the caliphate lasted for thirty years. And Abu Bakr(R) most exalted in the whole of the community, then comes 'Umar(R.) followed by 'Uthman(R.) and 'Ali(R.) in good order.²

In his *Fuyudh al-Haramain* the Shah mentioned that his instinct was in 'Ali (R.) that he was superior to Abu Bakr(R.) and 'Umar(R.), but the Prophet (PBUH) commanded him in a vision to give superiority to the first two Caliphs.³ In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* he mentioned the basic qualifications of Caliphs and their important duties then described the ways of appointing of four Caliphs - Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali and opined that all ways of their appointment were fair and legal in Islam.⁴

Shah Waliullah has written a separate book on superiority of first two Caliphs (Abu Bakr and 'Umar) under the title *Qurrat al-'Aynain fi Tafdhil al-Shaikhain*. Regarding the cause of writing the book the Shah said, "In these days the question of superiority of two *Shaikhs* (Caliph Abu Bakr and 'Umar) has been newly raised, because the innovator sects (*Mubtadi'ah*) are instigating the doubts and suspicions in those Caliphs while this question had become less importance and normal."⁵

In the introduction to his *Izalat al-Khafa* he brought forward the dangers of Shi'ite's creed in Islam, as he stated, "In this age the innovation of the Shi'ite has terribly broken out, and common people have been influenced and confused by the doubts raised by the *Shi'as* regarding the caliphate of righteous Caliphs. The light of God's assistance confirmed the knowledge in my heart that the provement of the caliphate of the exalted Caliphs is necessary and is a part the principles of the religion (*usal-i-Din*).

¹ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 1/148, Al- 'Aqidah al- Hasanah , with commentary of Owais Nigami, op cit , pp 66- 68

² - Al- Khair al- Kathir, English tr by G N Jalbani, op cit , p 181, (Khazana No 10)

³ - Shah Waliullah , Fuyudh al- Haramain , Urdu tr by Prof Muhammad Sarwar, Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore, 1947, p 228, (Vision No 22), Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya , p 1/246

⁴ - Hujjatullah al- Balighah , op cit , chapter Al- Khilafat , pp 2/373- 75

⁵ - Qurrat al- 'Aynain fi Tafdhil al- Shaikhain, op cit , introduction, p 2

So long as the principle of the righteousness of those Caliphs will not be firmly established the almost injunctions of *Shari'ah* will not be settled. Major orders of the *Shari'ah* in the holy Quran are synopsis and abridged. If those texts had not been explained by the earlier pious men (*salaf salih*) those would have been remained out of comprehension and unclear. If the earlier pious group did not spend its endeavour in transmission of Hadith and explanation of almost of them and derivation the legal opinions from them and conciliation among the apparently self-contradictory Hadiths, these methods would not have taken this perfect shape. All the religious knowledge of the holy Quran, assembling the Quran, *Tafsir*, belief, *Suluk*, jurisprudence, executive and legal injunctions etc have been established by the exertion of those four Caliphs, and entire *Ummah* followed them and obliged to them for their guidance. If this principle (righteousness and achievements of four Caliphs) should not be established, the total religious knowledge would be ruined."¹

About other companions of the Prophet Shah Waliullah declared, "We bear witness that the certain ten persons who have been given the glad tidings of paradise (*Ashara Mubashshara*), Fatima, Khadija, 'Ayesha, Hasan and Husain - may Allah be pleased with them - are the residence of the paradise, and we should speak well of them as well as we have to exalt them and recognize their high position in Islam. Like this, who participated the battle of *Badr* (2 H.) and who took part in the solemnization (*Bar'at*) of *Ridhwan*' (6 H.)."² We must hold our tongue from the (evil speaking of) the companions of the Prophet and speak good of them. Those are our leaders, commanders and guides in our religion. Abusing or insulting them is forbidden (*Haram*) and to exalt them is obligatory (*wajib*)."³

¹ "مي گويد فقير حقير ولي الله عفي عنه كه درين زمانه بدعت تشيع و اثبات خلافت اين بزرگواران اصلي استكارا شد بر اثبات خلافت خلفاء راشدين اجمعين شكوك و اثبات خلافت اين بزرگواران اصلي است از اصول دين قنوه سلف درين امور بخلفاء راشدين ست و تمسك ايشان باذيال خلفاء جمع قرآن مبني از بر سعي خلفاء است و قضاياء و حدود و احكام قفه بحقيقت هدم جميع فنون دينية ميخواهد."

² Al- Aqidah al- Hasanah, op cit , pp 64- 66, Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya , op cit , p 1/148

³ Al- Aqidah al- Hasanah, op cit , p 69, Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, p 1/148

In another place the Shah mentioned, "We must cherish good faith in all companions of the Prophet (PBUH) and never speak evil of them except good. We are not saying that there was no disagreement among them. To discuss those quarrels with hurting and cursing them is self destruction. In spite of their dispute with each other in some cases we can neither hurt nor curse nor criticize them. We have been ordered by *Shari'ah* to restrain our tongue from criticizing and hurting them for a welfare and interest of *Ummah*. One of those interest is, if the door of criticism on them will be opened then the chain of transmission of the *Shari'ah* from the Prophet would be disconnected. If the companions of the Prophet recognized as trustworthy their narration of the *Shari'ah* would be considered as acceptable document (*hujjat*). Unless the chain of *Shari'ah* between the Prophet and the *Ummah* remains disconnected"¹

The Shah further said that after the holy Quran the basis and the trustworthy capital of the religion is Hadith. And regarding the *Hadith* the mediation of senior eminents of the *Ummah* (companions of the Prophet) between the *Ummah* and the Prophet is necessary²

In connection of *Shi'a* and *Sunni* with reference to *Al-'Aqidah al-Hasanah* A D Muztar said that according to Shah Waliullah the qualification and condition for being a Muslim were the *Qibla* (direction of the *Ka'ba*). According to this formula all those who face towards the *Ka'ba* during their prayers are Muslims and Shah Waliullah would not call them *kafirs*. And denial of the concept of the finality of the Prophethood does not however, disqualify a Muslim from remaining in the fold of Islam³

With full respect to the scholar A D Muztar I would like to say that the generalization of *Ahl-i- Qibla* and considering the *Qibla* sufficient for qualifying for remaining in the fold of Islam seems to be wrong. Unless the infidels of Makkah in *Jahili* period were also the *Ahl-i- Qibla* but those were not Muslims. Shah Waliullah's opinion about *Ahl-i- Qibla* is not unconditional

¹ - Wasayat Nama, op cit , p 6, (Wasayat No 5), Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, p 2/244

² - Izalat al- Khafa, op cit , p 3/21

³ - Shah Wali Allah - A Saint Scholar of Muslim India, op cit , p 115

In fact, he said, "We do not say any *Ahl-i Qibla* disbeliever (*kafir*), except if he deny the creator who is omnipotent or worship others except Allah or refuse the day of resurrection or the Prophet or essentials of religion (*Dharuriyat al-Din*)¹ It is rememberable here that the Shah stated that actually *Shi'a* did not believe in the finality of the Prophethood (*Khatam Nabuwat*)²

None of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* has any doubt in the fact that the belief in finality of the Prophethood (*Khatam Nabuwat*) is one of the essentials of religion (*dharuriyat al-Din*) Therefore, whoever of *Ahl -i- Qibla* denies any essential of religion he is not Muslim according to the Shah, as it has been settled in the *Sunni* theology according to the Quran and *Sunnah* The *Khatam-i-Nabuwat* is the vital issue which has been denied by the perverse sect named *Qadianiya*, and all *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* are unanimous in their infidelity for their refusing the finality of the Prophethood The issue of finality of the Prophet however, is not a vague term for being a Muslim as hinted by A D Muztar, but it is a very known, proved and clear term in Islam Therefore, the derivation and statement of A D Muztar in this connection are not baseless and wrong only but dangerous and destructive also Yes, it is true that the Shah did not said the *Shi'ite kafir* in direct word, but indicated to it in indirect words and in different kinds of discussion, as he said them denier of the finality of the Prophethood³ and out of the main body of Islam and so on⁴

¹ - Al- Aqidah al- Hasanah, op cit , p 70, Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya op cit p 1/148 "ولا تكفر احداً من اهل القبلة الا بما فيه نفي الصانع الفاعل المحتار أو عبادة غير الله أو انكار المعاد و النبي و سائر ضروريات الدين"

² - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya p 2/ 244, supra, p 103

³ - Supra, p 103

⁴ - Supra, p 102

Section III : His View On Tasawuf

Identification of Tasawuf : The esoteric aspect of the religion was identified by Shah Waliullah with *Ihsan* (spiritual perfection)¹ The connection of *Sahaba* (Companions of the Prophet), *Ibni'un* (successors), and major pious men with Allah was acquainted as *Ihsan*² The highest knowledge after the *fiqh* is that of *Ihsan*, which is known now a days as knowledge of *suluk*³ Shah Waliullah has explained the *Ihsan*⁴ by the Hadith of Prophet (PBUH), that the *Ihsan* is to worship of Allah with the certainty as though the worshipper watching Him (Allah) or else He (Allah) was watching the worshipper⁵

As for the Shah, the gist of *Batin -i- Din* (secret value of religion) is *Ihsan*,⁶ therefore he has entitled the chapters relating to *Tasawuf* as the chapters of *Ihsan* (*Abwab al- Ihsan*) in his *Hujjatullah al- Baligha*⁷ then discussed the relevant matters with sufism under them and added more sub- chapters under the title *Mabai'uth al- Ihsan*,⁸ and attached with them the stages and conditions of mysticism (*Al- Maqamat wal- Ahwal*) subsequently⁹ The Shah has insisted the mystics on realizing the *Ihsan* and obtaining it and call the people to it¹⁰

Steps of Development of Sufism : Shah Waliullah has studied the history of sufism deeply and widely and observed its nature of development in different ages then he classified it into various steps, those are

1st - This period began at the time of Prophet (PBUH) and his companions and continued until the period of Junaid al- Baghdadi (d 298- 910) In this period

¹ - Shah Waliullah, Ham at, Urdu tr by Prof Muhammad Sarwar, under the title 'Tasawuf ki Haqiqat aur uska Falsafa -i- Tarikh, Lahore, Sindh Sagar Academy, 1946, pp 38-45

² - Ibid, p 172

³ - *Izalat al- Khafa an Khilafat al- Khulafa*, op cit, Vol III, p 23

⁴ - Ham at, p 45, *Hujjatullah al- Baligha*, op cit, p 1/160

⁵ - Bukhari, al-Iman, Hadith No 37, Muslim, al-Iman, Hadith No 5, 12

⁶ - Ham at, p 38

⁷ - *Hujjatullah al- Baligha*, pp 2 /158- 166

⁸ - Ibid, pp 2/196- 211

⁹ - Ibid, pp 2/211- 250

¹⁰ - *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya*, op cit, pp 1/214- 15

people were concerned with performing the rituals of Islamic *Shari'ah* directly. To their mind *Ihsan* (spiritual perfection) meant the performance of *salat*, fasting, *zikr*, reciting the Quran, paying *zakat*, *hajj* and *jihad*. None of them was accustomed with the different systems of mystical practices in a contemplation. They did not adopt any way for obtaining the pleasure of and nearness to Allah except abiding by the proved rules and regulations of *Shari'ah*. Miracles (*karamat*), ecstasy, illumination (*kashf*) etc. were seldom found in them and if they were seen, it was by chance automatically, not intentionally. No anti-*Shari'ah* word was uttered by them at all.¹

2nd - During the period of *Sufi* leader Junaid al-Baghdadi or shortly before it a different trend in sufism emerged. A large group of *Sufis* upheld those earlier (aforesaid) beliefs, but a particular section turned to the asceticism, living in jungles, wearing tattered rags, practicing meditation and contemplation in their mystical journey, using symbols and unusual phrases, issuing illumination and listening *Sama`* (mystical song) etc. Till this period the *tawajjuh* (spiritual concentration) had not reached its final point but it was appeared occasionally like flashes of lightning.²

In the meantime leader of *Sufis* Junaid al-Baghdadi appeared and paved the way of *Sufi* order according to the *Sunnah* then he refined and summarized it. The order of Junaid entirely good and Allah has inspired His blessings with it and different sections of *Sufis* assembled with this order.³

3rd - At the time of *Shaikh* Abu Sa'id bin Abul Khair (d. 440 H/1049) and *Shaikh* Abul Hasan Kharraqani (d. 425H/1043) another change happened in sufism. The common complete *Sufis* continued to follow earlier orders and practices but a group of them struggled in ecstasy and inner conditions and qualities. And the most special of them gave particular attention to *jazb* (attraction to Allah with intoxication), *nisbat* (connection to Allah) and how to be absorbed in the Essence of Allah and coloured by His colour. In this stage they

¹ - Ham at, op cit , pp 45- 46

² - Ibid, pp 49- 50

³ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 1/206

neglected the *awrad* (particular recitation) and *wazaif* (daily practices) Their capital interest was in *tawajjuh*. Although they tried to lose their individuals in the Being of Allah they could not find out what is the different between the creatures and the Essence of Allah as well as what is the meaning of *fana* (self annihilation) and *baqa* (survival after annihilation).¹ Allah has reformed the *Sufi* order in this period by Shaikh Abu Sa'īd bin Abul Khair²

4th - This epoch started at the time of Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi (d.638 H./1240). In this period the intellectual power of mystics expended more and crossed the stage of conditions and stations (*Ahwal and Maqamat*) and they began to discuss on the subtle differences of mystical theories. After researching they discovered the stages of *tanazzulat* (descents)³ from *Wajib al-Wujud* (Necessary Being).⁴ Allah has reformed the *Sufi* order by Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi.⁵

5th - In addition to those epochs Shah Waliullah mentioned an other period and said that there after a perverse sect germinated in Islam who thought that Allah would be identical and united with the world and the world would be identical with Allah and that there is no account and punishment after death The Shah said, "According to us, man realizes by nature that God is one and unique, approving and disapproving, forgiving and punishing And whoever does not believe in these matters he is *zindiq*⁶ and *kafir*."⁷

6th - Lastly hinting at himself the Shah said that after many ages once again another terminator (*khatim*) and inaugurator (*fatih*) of a mystical period was born with the characteristics of *Mujaddidiya*, *Wasata*, *Qutbiya*, and *Irshadiya*

¹ - Ham'at, op cit , pp 49- 50

² - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , pp 1/77, 206

³ - Tanazzulat Descents like Alam Arwah (world of souls) . Alam Amthal (world of pictures or blue prints) and Alam Ajsam (world of bodies or materials)

⁴ - Ham'at, pp 50- 51

⁵ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, pp 1/77, 206

⁶ - Zindiq Muslim apparently but Kafir originally

⁷ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, p 1/206 "ثم نبئت فرقة خبيثة وهي الفرقة التي تزعم أن الله عين العالم والعالم عين الله.....، فمن قصر في هذه العقيدة فهو زنديق كافر".

simultaneously And all kinds of human-completeness have been distributed He (the Shah) hopes that by his hand new life and age will spring up¹

Sufi Tariqa (order) of Shah Waliullah : Shah Waliullah took instruction in *Naqshbandiya*, *Qadiriya*, and *Chishtiya* orders from his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim (d 1131 H./1718) and took *Bai`at* (solemnization for spiritual guidance) as well as garbed with *khirqah* (robe of sufis) by his hand² at the age of fifteen. He practiced specially on the order of *Naqshbandiya* which he obtained from his father and other *Naqshbandi Mashaikh*.³ For it embodies faithfully Islamic doctrines especially of monotheism and for its avoidance of innovations or deviation.⁴

Shah Waliullah's period was exceedingly rich in the practice and teaching of sufism. In this connection Shah Abdul Aziz(1239 H./ 1823) stated that in the reign Muhammad Shah(1719-48) there were twenty two outstanding *Sufi* leaders from different orders in Delhi.⁵ Hinting at himself Shah Waliullah said that in the period of this *Wasiy* (authorised agent of God) the *vizdan* has spread, and that means, the people of the east and west are united in accepting and following the *Sufis*. Even their speeches and conditions are more attached with their hearts than the Quran and *Sunnah* and every thing. Even their signs and indications have entered into the people, and whoever denies their signs and indications or keeps aloof from them are neither accepted nor considered as one of the pious. No admonitor on the pulpit of exhortation but his lectures are mixed with the signs and indications of *Sufis*. No learned who teaches the people but he believes in the speeches of *Sufis* and thinks over them, unless he is considered as natural creature as animals. No community centre of nobles or others but their subject of talking or cause of freely spending (of money) and

¹ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , pp 1/77- 78

² - Ibid, p 1/11, Al- Juz al- Latif (with Sat`at), op cit , p 27 , Shah Waliullah , Al-Qaul al- Jamil , with Urdu tr , op cit , pp 211- 12, Al- Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah (with urdu tr), op cit , p 10

³ -Al- Juz al- Latif, p 27

⁴ - Prof Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, op cit, p 43

⁵ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 160

matter of fun- making of their gatherings are the poems of *Sufis* and their terms¹

When Shah Waliullah visited Hijaz (1143 H./1730) his teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir gave him *Khirqah Jami`a* (robe combines all Sufi orders)² The Shah some times has given *Bai`at* some students and given them permission for Sufi- practice.³

Shah Waliullah has written many books on *Tasawuf* and its orders, like *Al- Qaul al- Jamil*, *Fuyudh al- Haramain*, *Al- Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah*, *Altaf al- Quds*, *Ham`at*, *Sat`at*, Major chapters of *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya*, Many chapters of *Al- Khair al- Kathir* and *Anfas al- `Arifin*, and some chapters of *Hujjatullah al- Baligha* etc.

Shah Waliullah has claimed that he had relation with various *Sufi*- orders. He has discussed on nine spiritual orders and their connections (*nisbat*), like *Sahaba*, *Tabi`un* and major earlier pious, *Salma* and *Qushairiya*, *Qadiriya* or *Waisiya*, *Naqshbandiya*, *Chishtiya*, *Suhrawardiya*, *Akbariya*, *Kubraviya* and *Shaziliya*, and said that he had been bestowed the connection of seven of those orders as well as he had been given gist of them.⁴ In his *al- Intibah* the Shah stated that he had relation with every *Sufi* order.⁵ Allah has given him the knowledge of vanishing the differences of many subjects, like *Fiqh*, *kalam*, *Tasawuf* etc.⁶ as well as he obtained full information about all kinds of completeness (*kamalat*).⁷ The Shah further claimed that he was the *Natiq'* (speaker) of his times and *Hakim'* (judge) of the same and leader of the generation (*Sufis*) and if he wanted to bring forward the invocations

¹ - *Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya*, op cit, p 1/82

² - *Al- Juz al- Latif*, op cit, p 28

³ - As he gave it his student Nurullah bin Mu`inuddin in 1146 H (*Al- Tafhimat*, pp 1/9-11), as well as his other disciple Jarullah bin Abdur Rahim in 1173 H (*Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta*, op cit, introduction, pp 55- 57)

⁴ - *Ham`at*, op cit, pp 173- 76,180

⁵ - *Al- Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah*, op cit, p 10

⁶ - *Al- Tafhimaat al- Ilahiya*, pp 1/112, 2/217

⁷ - *Ibid*, p 2/61

(*awrad*) and practices (*waz'if*) of all *Sufi* generations he could present them And he has been given *Mujaddidiyat*, *Wasaiyat*, *Quthbiyat*, *Irshadiyat* and *Imamat* ² and he has seen himself as *Qaim al-zaman* ³ The Shah has declared that his way was the way of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah and the earlier pious (*Sahaba and Tabi'un*) as well as his method was to accept the meaning of the Quran and Hadith directly without misinterpretation (*tawil*) ⁴

He also claimed that Allah had made him the leader of this order and put him through the highest peak and He had closed now a days all ways to reach the near to Allah except only one way and that is to love him (the Shah) and follow him The people of the east and west were his subjects and he was dominant on them either they knew it or not If they knew it they would be successful, and if they did not know it they would be loser ⁵ It is also said to him from the heaven that he was one of them who would not be asked in the hereafter day and will enter the paradise (*Jannat*) without account ⁶ At the same time the Shah exposed his flexibility with modesty voice, "O gentlemen I am a poor obliged, neither claim the extraordinariness and miracle nor I am the holder of respectful post and high position How I claim what is not my right ? I say only one thing, and that is, Allah by His own grace has shown me the straight path" ⁷ In many places the Shah acquainted himself as a servant of learneds and *Sufis* ⁸

In his *Ham'at* Shah Waliullah has discussed on four steps of development of sufism along with their characteristics ⁹ and then commented that though particular complete pious men of those steps and their mystical practices and conditions might be seen different from each other apparently, but their root is

¹ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit, p 1/124

² - Fuyudh al- Haramain, op cit, P 127, (Vision No 10), Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, p 2/184

³ - Ibid, p 297, (Vision No 44)

⁴ - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, p 2/12

⁵ - Ibid, p 2/125

⁶ - Ibid p 2/94

⁷ - Ibid, p 2/11

⁸ - Ibid, pp 1/12 122

⁹ - See supra, pp 110- 13

one¹ Moreover, he advised the Sufis that they should not speak on preference of any order to others but they should follow what has been proved by the *Sunnah* and practiced by the scholars firm (*Rasikh*) in knowledge²

Above said statements and claims of Shah Waliullah prove that he was not a follower of any particular prevailing *Sufi* order but he had his own opinion and order in this regard which he tried to intrude, that is the combination of good elements of many orders. In another place the Shah said, "My *Tariqa* (order) is *Sufi Tariqa*"³ but he did not mention any particular *Tariqa* by name which he adopted.

The Shah said that never believe that the *nisbat* (connection with Allah) will not be got unless ascribing oneself to any *Sufi* order or reciting particular *wazaif* or practicing specific performance. My preferable opinion is that the companions of the Prophet (PBUH) and their successors have obtained the peace (*sakina*) of their mind and soul by the way of *Salat* (prayer), glorification of Allah (*tasbih*), continuous purity, reciting the Quran and thinking over it, hearing the admonitions and Hadiths relating to heart-softening (*riqaaq*) matters etc.⁴ The conditions, systems and instructions of sufism are changeable according to the difference of epochs and times, therefore, no specific *Sufi* order is necessary for a mystic.⁵

As for Shah Waliullah, the first *Shaikh* and leader of sufism was Junaid al- Baghdadi (d.297H./910)⁶ who declared openly that *Sufis'* faith and practices should be according to the Quran and *Sunnah*.⁷ Following the way of Junaid al- Baghdadi the Shah said that a novice of sufism at first should correct his

¹ - Ham'at, op cit , p 51

² - Al- Qaul al- Jamil , op cit , pp 197- 98

³ - In the certificate attached with the copy of Sahih al- Bukhari which was used by Shah Waliullah at teaching (Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit , pp 108-9)

⁴ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil, pp 123- 25

⁵ - Al- Intibah, op cit , p 11

⁶ - Ham at, pp 47, 54 , Al- Intibah, p 111, Al- Taffimat, op cit , pp 1/77, 112, 2/131, Altaf al-Quds, op cit , p 21, Anfas al- Arifin , op cit , p 210

⁷ - Imam Ibn Kathir, Al- Bidayah wal- Nihayah , Dar al- Fikr , Egypt , 1358 H , Vol 11 , p 114 , Khairuddin al- Zerekly, op cit , Vol 2 , pp 140-41

`aqida (faith) according to the method of earlier pious men (*salaf salih*)¹ In another place the Shah stated that a *Sufi* must hold the belief of *Sahaba*, *Tabi'un* and earlier pious and should escape himself from the belief of *Mutakallimun* (scholastics)² He claimed that his relation and learning system (*tariqa*) were connected to the prophet (PBUH) with the sound and multi-branched chains although the certain rules of decorum and particular practices were not proved from the Prophet (PBUH)³

The Shah said that the first stage of wayfarer of spiritual path was to follow the *Shari'ah*⁴ If the *Sufi* was able to study the books of Hadith directly he should do that otherwise he should follow any *mazhab* of four *mazhabs*⁵ The Shah encouraged the *sufis* to follow the things proved by the *Sunnah*⁶ and mentioned that the *Salat al- ma'kus* (the inverted *namaz*) of the *Chishtiya* order was not found neither in *Sunnah* nor in the speeches of *Fuqaha* (Islamic jurists), therefore, this was unproved⁷ He further mentioned that the existence of *Qutb*, *Ghawth* and *Khadhir* was not proved by the Quran, *Sunnah* and *Ijma'* (unanimous resolution of Islamic scholars) And whoever of the *Sufis* claimed it, did not proved it by the Quran and *Sunnah* but by the *kashf* (illumination), whereas the *kashf* is not the document of *Shari'ah* In this connection, supporting Imam Ibn Taimiyah (d 728H) the Shah said that according to the Quran and *Sunnah* he was right in this point⁸ The *kashf* and *vizdan* (intuition), as for the Shah, are natural love exists in every servant of Allah, but if anyone claims that those are rituals of *Shari'ah* that is wrong⁹

Regarding *Bai'at* (solemnization), the Shah said that taking *Bai'at* for qualified *Sufis* and firmly learneds was permissible and *Sunnah*¹⁰ But in these days those *Sufis* who are afflicted with many kinds of innovations

¹ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil, op cit , p 42

² - Ibid, p 181, Ham at, op cit , p 55

³ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil , p 211

⁴ - Ham at , p 52

⁵ - Ibid p 56

⁶ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil pp 197- 98

⁷ - Ibid , p 86

⁸ Maktubat ma a Manaqib al- Bukhari wa Fadhilat Ibn Taimiyah op cit , p 28

⁹ - Ibid , p 28

¹¹ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil, pp 14- 41

hid'ah), the people should not be deceived by them and should not extend their hands to them for *Bai'at*¹

In connection of *wazaiif* (routined practices) and *awrad* (specific recitations and invocations), the Shah has related many kinds of them from different *Sufi* orders, like *Qadiriya*, *Chishtiya* etc along with the order of his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim also² Some *awrad* have been made by himself also³ He declared that the *azkar* and *awrad* were variant in different orders of sufism but the best and more acceptable of them which were proved by sound Hadith⁴ In support of *Naqshbandiya* order the Shah said that this order had no particular *awrad* because, according to them the *awrad* which had been mentioned in sound Hadiths were sufficient⁵ In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, when the Shah discussed on *ihsan* (*Tasawuf*) he mentioned the matter of *azkar* and *awrad* and brought forward more than hundred *azkar* from the sound Hadiths, which should be recited in different occasions and happenings⁶ In his *Al- Tafhimat* he prescribed some *Surahs* of the holy Quran and some glorifying words of Allah as *wazifa*⁷

As for Shah Waliullah the wayfarer (*salik*) should give attention to the *taharah* (purification) that is, *wadhu*, *ghusl* (bath) etc⁸ and has to perform 50 *rak'at* prayers in 24-hour period 17 for the obligatory *salats*, 12 for the sunan *rawatib*, 11 for the *tahajjud* and *vitr*, 2 for the *ishraq* (sunrise), 4 for the fornoon and 4 for the sun's decline He should recite those invocations (*azkar*) which have been proved by sound Hadith To recite the *Subhan Allah Wa Bi Hamdih* and *La Ilaha Illa Allahu Wahdahu La Sharika Lahu* at dawn is full of blessings. He ought to observe the fast of *Arafa*, and *Ashura*, 3 *Ayam beedh*

¹ -Wasiyat Nama with Risalah Danishmandi, op cit , p 2, (wasiyat no 3)

² - Al- Qaul al- Jamil , op cit , pp 56- 179

³ - There are ten invocations in mystical manner made by the Shah and those had been mentioned in his *Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya*, op cit , pp 1/227- 29

⁴ - Ham at, op cit , pp 57- 59, Al- Qaul al- Jamil, p 29

⁵ - Ham at, p 61

⁶ - *Hujjatullah al- Baligha* , op cit , pp 2/167- 195

⁷ - Sura Yasin, Waq' ah and Yusuf and the 'Tahlil' (*La Ilaha Illa - Allah*) and *Subhanallah* wa *Bihamdih* (*Al- Tafhimat*, p 2/194)

⁸ - Ibid, pp 1/221- 22

(13th, 14th and 15th of every lunar month) and 6 days of the months of *Shawal*. Regarding the *sadaqa* (voluntary charity), he should feed a poor man every day from his own resources, and besides the *sadaqa* at the end of *Ramadhan*, he should clothe a poor person once a year. If he is a *Hafiz* (memorizer) of the Quran he would recite it completely once a week if he is not a *Hafiz* he would recite 100 Ayat every day. He should read the Hadith 2 pages and listen the meaning of the Qurann two *Ruku`* everyday. As regard his (wayfarer) daily life, he should not distinguish himself from his own companions and family; if he belongs to the class of *Ulama* he should behave as one of them; if he belongs to the guild of artisans, he should act as one of them; and if he belongs to the military people he should follow their conduct.¹

Shah Waliullah was not pleased with the ignorant *Sufis* and their misguided descendants at all,² consequently he presented some admonitions addressing them :

"I say those hermits who settled themselves in the *Khinqas* (hospices), you have committed every hard and easy and taken every moist and dry (good and bad) and are calling the people to the false and baseless matters. You are making the religious life of people difficult and burdenuous. You were sent to make the life of the people easy and not arduous. You have firmly hold the tells of senseless passionately lover (*ushshaq*), whereas their tells should not be discussed but must be folded up. Allah's pleasure was on you if you would understand the *Ihsan* with its both portions of belief and practice without mixing it with the matters of unconscious ecstatic mystics and the ambiguous indications of illuminists (*mukashifin*). So, call the people to *Ihsan* and obtain it. Do you not know that the greatest grace is Allah's grace, and the best guidance is which Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) brought for you (from Allah)? In view

¹ - Ham'at, Urdu tr, Jamhur Book depot, Deoband, 1977, pp 88- 89, J M S Baljon, op cit, pp 80- 81

² - Al- Qaul al- Jamil, op cit, p 193, Shah Waliullah, Al- Fauz al- Kabir, Arabic tr Muhammad Munir al- Dimashqi and completed by I'jaz Ali Deobandi, Deoband, n d, p 10, Al- Tafhimat, op cit, p 2/ 202

of the above can you say that whatever you are doing now a days has been done either by the Prophet or by his companions ?"¹

"I ask the descendants of *Mashaikh* (spiritual leaders) who have occupied their fore fathers seats unjustly, why have you divided yourselves into groups and factions ? Every one of you is following his own opinion and has abandoned the way which has been revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the grace, blessing and guidance for mankind Each one of you consider himself to be an *Imam* (leader) and invites the people to particular way and believes that he is rightly guided and qualified for guiding others although he himself is misled and is misleading others

We are not pleased at all with those who take the *Bur'at* from the people for the sake of financial benefit or misuse the consecrated learnings for worldly objectives They have adopted the bearings and habits of the pious guide because, without doing so they can not earn the wealth and position Nor I pleased with those who ask the people to submit them to their own whims Those persons are high-way robbers (*Qutta' al-tariq*), hoodwinks (*Dajjalun*), liars, corrupted and corrupter So keep aloof from them

Beware ! Never follow any one who does not call you to the Book of Allah and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet or invites you to follow his own teachings Do not agree with the circulations of the terms and indications of *Sufis* in the sittings and meetings, because, the main target of *Tasawuf* is *Ihsan*. Are you not ready to take the lesson from the following speech of Allah ?"²

"And indeed this is my straight path, so follow it and do not follow other ways, lest you will be parted from His way "³

¹ - Al- Taffimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 1/215

² - Ibid , p 1/214

³ - Surah Al- An am Ayat no 153

Wahdat al-Wujud and Wahdat al-Shuhud : The doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* (the unity of being or ontological monism) has been firmly established and clearly declared by Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi (d.638 H/1240)¹ The writings of Ibn 'Arabi either prose or poetry prove that he was a believer in *wahdat al-wujud* or unity of all essence with the Essence or Being of Allah and was the speaker and preacher of the same,² as it has been understood by many scholars also.³ Shaikh Burhanuddin al-Baqā'ī (d.885H.) has compiled a complete book on this matter and expressed above said opinion⁴ Moreover, he mentioned the opinion of 27 renowned Islamic scholars and *Muhaddithin* who has given the same verdict.⁵ Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Alauddin Bukhari Hanafi

¹ - Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi (Mujaddid Alf Thani), Maktubat Imam Rabbani, Annotation by Noor Ahmad Mujaddidi, Lahore, 1384 H/1964, Part 5, Daftar 1, Maktub 272, p 9 As he said "تصريح بتوحيد وجودي کرده است شیخ محي الدين ابن عربي".

² - Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi, (Fusus al-Hikam, ed and commentary by Dr Abul 'Ula 'Afifi, Dar al-Kutub al-Arabi, Beirut, 1365H/1946, p 111) As he said "و بالأخبار الصحيح أن الله عين الأشياء" And also (Ibid, pp 53, 55, 106), and also see Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi, (Al-Futuh al-Makkiyah, Bulaq, Cairo, 1293 H, pp 3/400-402) As he stated "العالم يصدر عن الله والمخلوقات علامات و آثار و تجليات له، وإذا كان الجوهر أو الحقيقة العددية للكون واحد هي الحقيقة الإلهية". And also see Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi, (Shajarat al-Kaun, Matbat al-'Alam, Istanbul, 1381H, pp 2, 5) And also see his poems in this regard in his (Fusus al-Hikam, Ibid, p 111) "فأنت عبد و أنت رب * لمن له فيه أنت عبد". "فيحمدني و أحمده * و يعبدني و أعبد". "فهو الكون كله *". And also see his (Al-Futuh al-Makkiyah, Ibid, p 2/441) "وجود الحق عين وجودي * فاني عن الوجود فنيته عنه".

³ - Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, (Maktubat Imam Rabbani, foot note no, 2, Ibid, Part 6, Daftar 2, Maktub 272, pp 5-7, 10, 12), as he said "يمكن را عين واجب تعالى دانسته اند..... و گفتن". Imam Ibn Kathir, (op cit Vol 13, p 156), as he stated "ولابن عربي كتاب قصص الحكم فيه أشياء ظاهرة كفر صريح". Hafiz Abu Abdullah az-Zahabi, (Mizan al-'Itidal, ed 'Ali Muhammad al-Baji, Dar Ihiya al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, Cairo, n.d Vol 3, pp 659-60), as he said that Ibn 'Arabi was accused of lie, perversion, madness, Shi'ite, and zandaqa. He compiled many books on the Tasawuf of philosophers and on the thought of *wahdat al-wujud*. He said many bad sayings especially in his *Fusus al-Hikam*.

See also Dr. Abul 'Ula 'Afifi, (op cit, introduction, pp 23-24), as he said "غاية ابن عربي وصلة الوجود الممكن بالواجب. ان الحقيقة الوجودية واحدة في جوهرها و ذاتها متكررة".

R A Nicholson, (Studies in Islamic Mysticism, Cambridge, 1967, p 99), Mahmud Abdur Rauf Al-Qasim, (Al-Kashf 'an Haqiqat al-Sufiyah, Al-Maktaba al-Islamiyah, Jordan, 1413 H, p 150) As he said "اتضح من أشعاره و أقواله أن الخالق نفس المخلوق و هو ما يسمى وحدة الوجود".

⁴ - Tanbih al-Ghabi ila Takfir Ibn 'Arabi or Masra' al-Tasawuf, ed and commentary by Abdur Rahman al-Wakil, Dar al-Ifta, Riyadh, 1415H, pp 61-62, 64, 74, 93

⁵ - Of them Qazi Hafiz Badruddin Ibn Jama'ah, Imam 'Izzuddin Abdus Salam, Imam Taqiyuddin Ibn Daqiq al-'Id, Imam Shamsuddin Ibn al-Jazari, Shaikhul Islam Ibn Taimiyah, Hafiz Abu Abdullah al-Zahabi, Imam Ibn Kathir, Hafiz Zainuddin al-'Iraqi, Imam Taqiyuddin al-Subki, 'Allama Abu Haiyan Jamaluddin Ibn Hisham al-Nahwi, Hafiz Sirajuddin al-Balqini, 'Allama Abdur Rahman Ibn Khaldun, Hafiz Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani, 'Alauddin Bukhari al-Hanafi and others (Tanbih al-Ghabi, ibid, pp 112, 137-164)

(d 841H./1438) also has written a complete book on the above mentioned thought of Ibn 'Arabi and its refusal.¹

In contrast to the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* of Ibn Arabi the dogma of *wahdat al-shuhud* (Unity of appearance only not actual) has been elaborately discussed and established by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1034 H./1624), although the theme of *wahdat al-shuhud* along with *wahdat al-wujud* has not been rejected by Ibn 'Arabi,² as well as the matter has been discussed in different angle by Imam Ibn Qayim Al-Jauziyah (d.751 H/1350) also.³ As for Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi *wahdat al-shuhud* is acceptable⁴ and *wahdat al-wujud* with the Essence (*Zat*) of Allah is *shirk* (taking partner with Allah),⁵ and such kind of saying is *ilhadi* (apostasy) and *zandaqa* (atheism with deceiving),⁶ because, the Essence or Being of Allah is always separate and distinct from any other essence.⁷ He said that the Prophets did not call the peoples to *wahdat al-wujud* but called them to the oneness of Allah and the worship any thing except Him is *shirk*.⁸ The above saying has been said by Imam Ibn Qayim al-Jauziyah⁹ and Shah Waliullah also.¹⁰

Shah Waliullah's father, Shaikh Abdur Rahim was a strong believer in and supporter of *wahdat al-wujud* of Ibn 'Arabi.¹¹ Like his father Shah Waliullah attached much significance to the concept of *wahdat al-wujud*,¹² and taught

¹ - The name of this book is *Fadhihat al-Mulhidin wa Nasihat al-Muwahhidin*, Al-Zereki, Al-A'lam, op cit, Vol 7, pp 45-47

² - Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, op cit, p 2/219

³ - Abu Abdullah Ibn Qayim Al-Jauziyah, *Madarij al-Salikin*, ed and commentary by Sayid Rashid Ridha, Matbat al-Manar, Egypt, 1313 H, pp 1/83, 262, 264

⁴ - Maktubat Imam Rabbani, op cit, Part 5, Daftar, 1, Maktub 272, pp 5, 6, 10-11, 12, 15, 17-18, and Maktub 290, p 98

⁵ - Ibid, Part 5, Daftar 1, Maktub 272, pp 7-8, and Part 6, Daftar 2, Maktub 2, p 5 "الحاد صرف 5 و زندقه خالص.... سوء ادب است."

⁶ - Ibid, Part 5, Daftar, 1, Maktub, 272, p 15, and Part 6, Daftar 2, Maktub 1, p 5

⁷ - Ibid, Part 6, Daftar 2, Maktub 1, pp 8, 10

⁸ - Ibid, part 5, Daftar 1, Maktub 272, p 8

⁹ - *Madarij al-Salikin*, p 1/55

¹⁰ - Al-Tafhimat, p. 2/151

¹¹ - *Anfas al-Arifin*, op cit, p 86, Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, op cit, p 57

¹² - Professor Yasin Mazhar, op cit, p 43, G N Jalbani, *Teachings of Shah Waliullah*, op cit, p 97

the people the meaning of this doctrine on right way¹ But what is that right meaning and point of *wahdat* (unity) of essences according to the Shah, that is the main subject of discussion Professor Muhammad Sarwar stated that because the Shah completed his education and took the spiritual instructions from his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim, who was strong believer and supporter of *wahdat al-wujud* (of Ibn Arabi), so he was fundamentally believer in *wahdat al-wujud* Being an *Imam* (educationist leader) and a versatile genius he tried in his some books² to conciliate between *wahdat al-wujud* and *wahdat al-shuhud*³

But the real fact is that, the Shah was not a believer in the *wahdat al-wujud* in Allah's Essence as like Ibn 'Arabi The Shah has drawn a clear mark and fixed up a point for *wahdat al-wujud* and that is *nafs kulliya* (universal or common soul) And that universal soul is not the Essence of Allah From this *nafs kulliya* the *arwah* (souls), the *amthal* (pictures or blue prints of creatures) and the *ajsam* (bodies or materials) have descended respectively Allah is neither the *nafs kulliya* nor his Essence related with this *nafs*, but He is far from it hundred time⁴ The relation between Allah's Essence and *nafs kulliya* is the relation of *Mubdi`* (creator from nothing) and *mubda`* (created from nothing)⁵

Shah Waliullah clearly declared that which group said that *nafs kulliya* and Allah's Essence were same, their idea was wrong and they said it based upon the short understanding and slack-thinking⁶ Allah's Essence is far far way from *nafs kulliya*⁷ as well as He is so high from mankind (*nasut*) and other similarities to it⁸ If you ask me about the clear truth then I say that the

¹ - Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, Al-Furqan Journal, Waliullah no, op cit, p 320

² - A chapter in Al-Tafihamat al-Ilahiya, op cit, pp 2/216-236 This chapter has been published separately under the title 'Faisalah Baina Wahdat al-Wujud wa Wahdat al-Shuhud and Urdu tr under the title 'Maktub Madani'

³ - Anfas al-Arifin, introduction, p 10

⁴ - Ham at, op cit, p 151

⁵ - Ibid p 152

⁶ - Ibid, p 150, Altaf al-Quds, op cit, p 55

⁷ - Ham at, p 151

⁸ - Al-Budur al-Bazigha, op cit, p 122, "أنه متعال عن الناسوت و عما يشابهه"

4th - No one besides Him is entitled to be worshipped¹

Above said statements and evidences prove that according to Shah Waliullah, no one or nothing has the right to be identical or united with the Essence or Attributes of Allah

The doctrines of *wahdat al-wujud* of Ibn 'Arabi and *wahdat al-shuhud* of Shikh Ahmad Sirhindi were keenly discussed during the days of Shah Waliullah and he had been asked about them also With good intention to conciliate among the differences of *Sufis* the Shah tried to conform both doctrines with each other² and said that the differences between the two doctrines is only wordy and terminological not actual³

Shah Waliullah has presented a substance of both theories He said that *wahdat al-wujud* was applied to the mystics who lost themselves in search for the complete universal reality In the meantime all rules of differences and distinctions between good and evil, which have been declared by the *Shari'ah* and supported by the reason, were dropped And *wahdat al-shuhud* means that a mystic when reaches such a stage where *jama'* (union) and *tafriqa'* (separation) are mingled and then he realizes that the things are one in some points, and various and different on other ground⁴

According to another group the world is combination of nonessentials in the one reality, but pictures of every species are different When the light is available the pictures (shadow) will appear, but the pictures have no existence without the light That is *wahdat al-wujud* The world consists of a series of reflections from divine Names and Attributes reflected in the mirrors of nonentities before those Names and Attributions, like the power being the

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit, Chapter of Tauhid, Vol 1 p 51

² - Al-Tafhimat, op cit, pp 2/216- 17, For details see ibid, pp 2/216- 236 or Maktub Madani or Faisalah Baina Wahdat al-Wujud wa Wahdat al - Shuhud

³ - Ibid, pp 2/219, 236, G N Jalbani, op cit, p 98, J M S Baljon, op cit, p 60, Prof Yasin Mazhar, op cit, p 43 Prof M Sarwar, introduction to Anfas al- Arifin, op cit, p 10 A A Rizvi op cit, pp 264 - 65

⁴ - Al-Tafhimat, pp 2/218- 19

antipodal of nonentity, that is weakness. Thus, when the power is reflected in the mirror of weakness the latter becomes contingent power That is called *wahdat al-shuhud*.¹

In another place the Shah says that when the mystic gets the universe exact the truth (Allah) due to his essence overwhelmed by the sight of encirclement and companion of Allah, that is called *tawhid wujud*. And if he loses the universe and sees the beauty of Allah behind the universe, that is called *tawhid shuhud*.²

However, with the best intentions of Shah Waliullah to conciliate between the *wahdat al-wujud* of Shaikh Ibn `Arabi and the *wahdat al-shuhud* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi he did not succeed in reaching his target in view of the reasons mentioned below :

a - The words *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of being or essence) and *wahdat al-shuhud* (unity of appearance or seeing) are lexically and terminologically different from each other.

b - Shah Waliullah neither mentioned the evidences and statements of Ibn `Arabi from his own writings nor from other sources which clearly proved that he was the believer in and proclaimer of *wahdat al-wujud* in the Essence of Allah,³ although the Shah himself said that the doctrine itself was wrong and *zandaqah* (atheism with deceiving) and blamed the sect generated after Ibn `Arabi for committing the same⁴ and tried to escape Ibn `Arabi from the responsibility of the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of all essence) with the Essence of Allah although he himself was the establisher of it.

c - In defense of Ibn `Arabi, the Shah said that the mistakes of Ibn `Arabi and his followers in their some essays which have been criticized by Mujaddid

¹ - Al- Tafhimat, op cit., p 2/ 219

² - Al- Intibah, op cit , p 80

³ - For details, supra, pp 121- 22

⁴ - See supra, pp 123-24

Sirhindi because of their contrasting to his (Sirhindi) intuition would be considered as a slip of knowledge not as a lapse of *kashf* (illumination). Learned are not free from the slips, and that is not harmful for their high positions.¹ But the Shah did not clarify whether the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* in the Essence of Allah is one of those mistakes as well as slip of knowledge of Ibn `Arabi or not.

d - Moreover, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi himself manifested that whoever thought and said that the *wahdat al-wujud* and *wahdat al-shuhud* were same thing he was misguided and misleading others.² There is a far difference between two doctrines, therefore, no one should mix them each other.³

The comprehension of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his statement on *wahdat al-wujud* of Ibn `Arabi and *wahdat al-shuhud* of himself are very clear and reasonable, therefore, there is no scope for conciliation between these two exaggerated opposites.

Fana and Baqa : The scholars of mysticism have acquainted the *fana* (annihilation) and *baqa* (survival) in their own languages.⁴ Even Shah Waliullah

¹ - Al- Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, op cit , p 2/234

² - Maktubat Imam Rabbani, op cit , Part 5, Daftar 1, Maktub 272, p 10, "از عوام چه گوید توحید و شهودی را عین توحید وجودی خیال کرده ... و دو وجودی گوینده را ضال مضل انگاشته."

³ - Ibid, Part 6, Daftar 2, Maktub 2, p 6, 8, 10, "تا فرق در میان دو مذهب بر وجه اتم حاصل گردد ... و از وقت یکی به دیگری خلط نشود ذات تعالی و تقدس متمیز باشد لوجود التغایر بینهما فی الخارج لأن الاثنین متغایران."

⁴ - Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn `Arabi said that the *Fana* "Observing of servant that Allah is existing in every thing." (روية العبد قيام الله على كل شيء), (Al- Futuhat al- Makkiyah, op cit , p 2/ 675) and the *Baqa* : "Observation of servant his work that Allah is doing that work " (روية العبد لفعله بقيام الله على ذلك), (ibid, p 2/ 678)

Imam Ibn Qayem Al- Jauziyah stated that *fana* means vanishing, disappearance and nonexistence *Fana* from all existence except Allah on concept that nothing exists except Allah, this is the *fana* of heretics But *fana* with seeing only Allah separated from others, as nothing with Him, that is the *fana* of wayfarer to Allah (*Madarij al- Salikin* , op cit , pp 1/ 262 , 264) There is an extraordinary similarity between Imam Ibn Qayim and Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi in the concept of *fana* , *baqa* , *wujud* and *shuhud*

Nicholson said , " Fana Naughting of all that not God" (Studies in Islamic mysticism, op cit , p 126), "The passing away from self" (ibid , p 9) , " To pass away from himself (fana) is to realize that self does not exist and that nothing exists except God" (ibid, 50) And *baqa* "Abiding after passing away" (ibid, p 55) , "Union with the Divine consciousness " (ibid , pp 126- 27)

said that the *fana* and *baqa* had various classes, and there was no dispute in different systems of description¹

The Shah has discussed the matter of *fana* and *baqa* in his many books. As he said, "Fana from himself and survival with the Truth (*Haq* , Allah), which had been expressed by the *Sufis* as gaining supremacy of Essence of Truth (*Haq*) over the essence of servant."² In another language he stated that *fana* from the darkness of universal existence and *baqa* with the lighted Spirit³. After obtaining *nisbat* (connection) there is another ascend, that is *fana fi-Allah* (annihilation in Allah) and *baqa bi-Allah* (survival with Allah). According to the Shah, this stage is not inherited from the Prophet (PBUH) with the connected chains of *Mashaikh* (Sufi leaders), but this is gift of Allah for His chosen servants without inheritance.⁴ Self annihilation and survival state are desired only as a result of certain conditions in some persons who are born sublime and devoted, and God has given them necessary guidance.⁵ Fana and *baqa* of Mystics are not discarding of the human form, but rather a withdrawing from the qualities of an animal nature and approaching human qualities to make himself nearer and commensurable to angelic qualities⁶

The subject of *fana* and *baqa* have a close relation with the matter of *hulul* (incarnation) and *ittihad* (unity of human being with Allah). Hosain bin Mansur al-Hallaj (d.309H./922) was the leader of above said doctrine among the Muslim *Sufis* and he uttered *Ana al-Haq* (I am Truth)⁷ His own

¹ - Al- Tafhimat Al-Ilahiya, op cit , pp 1/180- 81

² - Hujjatullah al- Baligha , op cit , p 1/ 234 , al- Tahimat al- Ilahiya, pp 180- 81, Shah Waliullah, Sat'at with Al- Juz al- Latif, op. cit , p 19, Qurrat al- 'Ainain fi Tafdhil al- Shaikhain, op cit . p 312

³ - Altaf al- Quds, op cit , p 53 , Shah Waliullah, Sat'at , with Al- juz al- Latif, op cit , p 19, Al- Intibah ,op cit , p 3, Al-Tafhimat, p 1/181, Wasiyat Nama, op cit , pp 4 - 5, (Wasiyat no 4)

⁴ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil , op cit , p 139

⁵ - Altafal- Quds, pp 92- 95, Al- Tafhimat, p 2/243, Wasiyat Nama , pp 4 - 5, (Wasiyat no 4), Qurrat al- Ainain, p 312

⁶ - Sat at, p 21

⁷ - Husain bin Mansur al- Hallaj , Kitab al- Tawasin , ed and commentary , Louis Masigan , Paris . 1913, p 51, Anfas al- Arifin, op cit , p 244, Imam Ibn Kathir, Al- Bidayah Wal- Nihayah, op cit , pp 11/133- 34, Dairah M'arif Islamiya , (Urdu), Lahore, 1399 H / 1973 , Vol 8 , pp 529- 40 Nicholson , op cit , pp 79 , 80 , 230 , Encyclopeadia of Islam , Vol III , op cit , pp 99- 101

speeches especially his poems ¹ and other writers witnesses prove the matter clearly.

Placius said, "Mansur Hallaj's theory of *ittihad* (union) with God and man has a good similarity to the Christians theory of *hulul* (incarnation) between God and Jesus ('Eisa) "²

Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi was also the believer in *ittihad* between Allah and human being.³ In this regard Nicholson stated, "The mystical doctrine of *ittihad* leads to the pantheism (*wahdat al-wujud*) of Ibn 'Arabi."⁴

Regarding the theory of *hulul* of Mansur Hallaj he stated, "While Sufis, like Moslems in general, affirm transcendence of God and reject the notion of infusion or incarnation (*hulul*), it is an interesting fact that one of the first attempt in Islam to indicate more precisely the mystical union was founded on the Christian doctrine of two natures in God. Hallaj dared to say *Ana al-Haq* (I am the Truth)."⁵

Although Shah Waliullah was a believer in *fana* and *baqa* and he has mentioned the story of Hallaj and the matter of his '*ana al-Haq*'⁶ and the condition when the *Sufi* says himself Allah, with reference to his uncle Abur

¹ - "قلت " أنا " ان لم 'ittihad' and 'hulul' of Hallaj regarding Some famous speeches and poems of Hallaj regarding 'hulul' and 'ittihad' " رأيت ربي بعين (Kitab al-Tawasin, op cit , p 51) تعرفوه فاعرفوا آثاره و أنا ذلك الأثر و أنا الحق. " أنا من أهوي و من أهوي أنا * نحن روحان حللنا بدنا (ibid , p 31, 167) ربي * فقلت من أنت قال أنت. فإذا أبصرتني أبصرته * وإذا أبصرته أبصرتنا. " مزجت روحك في روحي * كما تمزج الخمرة بالماء الزلال. فإذا مسك شيء مسني * فإذا أنت أنا في كل حال. " سبحان من أظهر ناسوته * سر سنا لاهوته الثاقب. ثم بدا فإذا فالنفس بعودة مثالية ترجع الى الاتحاد بالله الذي صدرت عنه) (ibid , p 11/133, Imam Ibn Kathir, op cit , p 134, 11/133) في خلقه ظاهرا * في صورة الأكل و الشارب."

² - Placius Mejuet Asin, Ibn 'Arabi Haiatuhu wa Mazhabuhu , Afabic tr from Spanish Language Dr Abdur Rahman Badawi , Cairo, 1965, p 257

³ - Regarding the 'Ittihad' Ibn 'Arabi said, "To become essence of beloved exact the essence of lover as well as essence of lover exact the essence of beloved", (الاتحاد أن تصير ذات المحبوب), (عين ذات المحب وذات المحب عين ذات المحبوب). (Al-Futuhat al-Makkiyah , op cit , p 2/441) He further said, "The soul by excellent going back returns to the unity with Allah from Which at first it has been issued " (فالنفس بعودة مثالية ترجع الى الاتحاد بالله الذي صدرت عنه) (ibid , pp 3/400- 402)

⁴ - Nicholson , op cit , p 193

⁵ - Nichlson , p 79

⁶ - Anfas al- Arifin , op cit , p 244

Ridha Muhammad¹ he himself did not believe in *hulul* and *ittihad* of human being with Allah as the believe of Hallaj and Ibn 'Arabi. The Shah said that the *fana* and *baqa* never made the wayfarer the possessor of Attributes of Necessary Being (*Wajib al-Wujud* ; Allah). In all circumstances *Rabb* (Lord) is *Rabb* and *'abd* (servant ; creature) is *'abd*, and he does not know the *ghaib* (unseen).² The word *ittihad* (union of human with Allah) is not appropriate for the Highness of Allah.³

Shah Waliullah further stated that the exact nature of *shirk* (associatism) is that a person should think that the miracles which have been issued from some dignitaries only emerged due to his being characterized by an attribute of perfection which was unknown among humans, but which rather is restricted to the Necessary Being (*Wajib al-Wujud*) - may his magnificence be exalted - . Rather he believes that this is not found in any one else unless God bestows the mantle of divinity upon another, or annihilates (*fana*) this other in His Essence, and makes him subsist (*baqa*) through His Essence, or some thing of this sort, which the believer holds in these varieties are superstitions.⁴

Shah Waliullah believes in *ittihat* of wayfarer with the *Tabi'at Kulliya* (universal nature)⁵ which other name is *nafs kulliya* (universal or common soul). In another language he believes in *ittihad* with *hayula al-kull'* (universal primordial matter)⁶ not with the Essence of Allah. Allah neither incarnates (*hulul*) nor unites (*ittihad*) with any thing at all.⁷

Lastly, it may be noted here that Shah Waliullah has not mentioned al-Hallaj in his writings but in rare case. In opposition to this he has mentioned Junaid al-Baghdadi at many places of his writings with high admiration.⁸ It is

¹ - Anfas al- Arifin, op cit , p 214

² - Al- Tafhimat, op cit , 1/183 " بأن العبد عبد وان ترقى وان الرب رب وان تنزل، وأن العبد لا يتصف بالوجوب أو بالصفات اللازمة للوجوب ولا يعلم الغيب."

³ - Al- Fauz al- Kabir, op cit , p 10

⁴ - Hujjatullah al- Baligha , op cit , p 1/159

⁵ - Fuyudh al- Harimain, op cit , p 65

⁶ - Al- Tafhimat, op cit , p 1/169

⁷ - Al- Aqidah al-Hasanah, op cit , p 23, Al-Tafhimat, p 1/145. " ولا يحل في غيره ولا يتحد بغيره "

⁸ - See supra, p 116

well known to the scholars that Junaid al-Baghdadi was not pleased with his contemporary *Sufi* Hosain bin Mansur al-Hallaj for his anti-*Shari'ah* doctrine like, *hulul* and *ittihad* and utterance with them Shah Waliullah's attitude and way of discussion lead us to suppose that he was the supporter of Junaid al-Baghdadi against the controversial and allergic doctrine of al-Hallaj

Visiting the Graves : Visiting the graves of pious men is a discussible matter relating to the *Sufis* and sufism. Shah Waliullah mentioned that in his youth when he meditated at the grave of his father (Shaikh Abdur Rahim) many mystical problems had been solved.¹ He stated that when he went to *Hijaz* (1143H./1731) and visited the grave of the Prophet (PBUH) he met the Prophet in various visions and there were many exchanges of questions and answers between them as well as he obtained many instructions from the Prophet²

As any other *Ahl al-Sunah* scholars the Shah considers the normal and unconditional visiting the graves permissible and good deed (*mandub*).³ In spite of above mentioned happenings in his youth and then with the Prophet (PBUH) specially, the Shah strongly opposed the visiting the graves for seeking any thing or fulfillment any demand or desire. In this connection the Shah mentioned the Hadith which prohibits from the sitting on the grave⁴ and then presented the judicial verdict with reference to *Fatawa Alamgiriya*⁵ that erecting building and tomb on the grave, sitting and walking on it or leaning against it are not permissible (*makruh*).⁶

¹ - Al- Juz al- Latif, op cit , p 27

² - Fuyudh al- Haramain , op cit , pp 116- 337 There are 36 visions closely related to the matter

³ - Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta, op cit , Vol 1, p 250- 51, Shah Waliullah, Al-Balagh al-Mubin, Urdu tr Hafiz Abdur Rahman Gauhati, Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore, 1962 , pp 35- 36

⁴ - Muslim, Al- Janaiz , Hadith no 96 , Abu Dawud, Al- Janaiz , Hadith no 73

⁵ - Fatawa Alamgiriya , with Fatawa Qazi Khan and Al- Bazzaziyah , Maktaba Haqqaniya , Peshawar , Pakistan , n d , chapter Al- Janaiz , Vol 1, p 166 " يكره أن يبنى على القبر أو يقعد أو ينام عليه أو توطأ عليه."

⁶ - Al- Musauwa Sharh al- Muwatta , Vol 1 p 251

In his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* the Shah the said , " Anyone who visits the tombs of Ajmir¹ or that of Salar Mas'ud² or other places similar to them for seeking fulfillment any demand and desire, he commits a sin graver than committing a murder or fornication . Is not his action as the same action of who used to worship the manufactured idols or who used to invoke *Lat* and *Uzza*?³ But we are not declaring openly their infidelity due to non existence of direct version of law giver (Allah and His Prophet) in this particular case (although the documents in general are available).Whoever believes that the dead can act like alive and seeks the fulfillment of his demands from him, his heart is sinful and he is included in the group about which Allah said⁴ that their these kind of actions are sinful (*fisq*).⁵

Above said statement has been quoted by many scholars as the document of Shah Waliullah's opinion on visiting the tombs and graves for seeking fulfillment of any demand and desire. Of them Maulana Mas'ud Alam Nadwi⁶ and Maulana Abul A'la Maududi⁷ are specially mentionable.

In opposition to them some commentators like Maulana Shah Abul Hasan Zaid Naqshbandi has strongly refused the above said statement of Shah Waliullah and stated that those sentences were not commensurable with the common thought and instructions of the Shah, therefore , those were not his own statement. And added that the fact was, that some corrupted people

¹ - Ajmir A famous town at south west from Delhi in which the tomb of Khawaja Mu inuddin uddin Chishti (d 633H /1236) is situated

² - Salar Mas'ud His tomb is in the town of Bohraj in U P, India

³ - Lat and 'Uzza Two idols of pre- Islamic (jahili) period which have been settled in holy Ka ba

⁴ - Al- Tafhimat, op cit , p 2/45 " كل من ذهب الى بلدة أجمير و الى قبر سالار مسعود أو ما ضاهاهما لأجل حاجة يطلبها فإنه اثم اثما أكبر من القتل و الزنا. أليس مثله الا كمثل من كان يعبد المصنوعات أو يدعو اللات و العزى؟ الا أنا لا نصرح بالتكفير لعدم النص من الشارع في هذا الأمر المخصوص. كل من عين حيوان الميت وطلب منه الحوائج فإنه اثم قلبه داخل في قوله تعالى: (نلكم فسق) ."

⁵ - نلكم فسق Part of the Ayat no 3 , Surah al- Maiedah , in which Allah has mentioned 11 acts of pre- Islamic infidels of Makka and declared them as forbidden (haram)

⁶ - See Mas'ud Alam Nadwi, Tarikh al- Daw'ah al- Islamiyah fil Hind, op cit , p 151

⁷ - Mujaz Tarikh Tajdid al- Din wa Ihyiaihi, Arabic tr Khalil al- Hamidi , Dar al- Fikr, Damascus 1383H /1964, p 91

had manufactured those sentences and attached them with the *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* of Shah Waliullah.¹

In spite of refusal of Shah Abul Hasan Zaid, the theme and explanation of above said statement are available in other writings of Shah Waliullah besides *Al-Tafhimat*, like *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta*, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*, and *Al-Fauz al-Kabir*.

In *Al-Musauwa* when the Shah came across the *Hadith* -- the Prophet (PBUH) said, "No riding animal will be prepared (for any place) except for proceeding to three Mosques, those are : Mosque of *Haram (Ka'ba)*, my Mosque (*Madina*) and *Bait al-Maqdis*"² and then commented, "I say, that the meaning of this *Hadith* is, to proceeding for journey to any place except these three Mosques for obtaining nearness to Allah (*qurba*) and fixing any place for the same are forbidden. May be the reason in it, to restrain from the acts which pre- Islamic ignorant (*jahili*) people used to do, as they used to discover the places and exalted them."³

In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* the Shah brought forward some *Hadiths* as : the Prophet (PBUH) sent 'Ali (R.) on the mission that no idle would be found but he should destroy it and no high grave would be got but he should make it level.⁴ The Prophet has forbidden from erecting tomb and building on the grave⁵ and plastering it, and sitting on it and said, "Do not perform prayer facing the graves"⁶ and then commented⁷, "Because above said acts and things are the means and ways by which the people took them as their worshipped-god, and exalted them exceedingly and unjustly and corrupted their religion as it was done by the Jews and Christians (*Ahli Kitab*), about whom the Prophet

¹ - Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati, *Al-Qaul al-Jali*, Urdu tr, introduction, op cit, p 5

² - *Al-Muwatta* of Imam Malik with *Sharh al-Musauwa*, op cit, *Hadith* no 125, Vol 1, p 125

³ - *Al-Musauwa*, Vol 1, p 125

⁴ - Muslim, *Al-Janaiz*, *Hadith* no 93, Abu Dawud, *Al-Janaiz*, *Hadith* no 68

⁵ - Ibn Majah, *Al-Janaiz*, *Hadith* no 43

⁶ - Muslim, *Al-Janaiz*, *Hadith* no 95, Nasa'i, *Al-Janaiz*, *Hadith* no 97, 98, Tirmizi, *Al-Janaiz*, *Hadith* no 58

⁷ - *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, op cit, Vol 2, p 88

said, "Allah's curse upon the Jews and Christians, because they have taken the graves of their Prophets as mosques."¹

The Shah mentioned the Hadith, as the Prophet (PBUH) said, "Don't make my grave festival place"² and commented, "I would like to say that this (saying of the Prophet) indicates to close the door of corruptions which have been done by Jews and Christians with the graves of their Prophets as they made them festival places and seasons like the *Hajj*."³ In another place the Shah stated that among the *shirk* is the performance of pilgrimage in honour of anyone other than Allah - may He be exalted - . This occurs when people go to visit so called sacred places relating to those whom they worship with Allah, and believe that arriving those places will make them nearer to those persons, then the divine law has forbidden from this⁴ as the Prophet said, "Do not put saddle on your camel (to travel) except to three mosques only."⁵

Commenting on this Hadith the Shah said, "The pre- Islamic (*jahili*) people used to visit so called exalted places for obtaining blessings from them There is a corruption and disaster in these acts which is well known, then the Prophet (PBUH) has stopped this disaster, so that the non-signs would not be added with actual signs of Islam and those would not become means of worship except Allah. As for me, the truth is that, the grave and place of worship of any beloved of Allah (*Wali*) and the *Tur*⁶ all are equal in being forbidden".⁷

¹ - Bukhari (Salat) , Hadith no 48, (Al- Janaiz) , Hadith no. 96 , Muslim (Al- Masajid) , Hadith no 19, 23 , Abu Dawud, Al- Janaiz, Hadith no 72

² - Abu Dawud, Al- Manasik, Hadith no 96

³ - Hujjatulah al- Baligha , Chapter Al- Azkar, op.cit , Vol 2, p 185

⁴ - Ibid , Aqsam al- Shirk , Vol 1 , p 162

⁵ - Bukhari, Fadhlu Masjid Makkah, Hadith no 1, 6, Muslim, Hajj, Hadith no 415, Abu Dawud, Al- Manasik, Hadith no 94

⁶ - Tur Famous mountain mentioned in the holy Quran in several places

⁷ - Hujjatulah al- Baligha, chapter Al- Masajid , Vol 1, p 454 " قوله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تشدوا الرحال الا الى ثلاثة مساجد، المسجد الحرام والمسجد الأقصى ومسجدي هذا. أقول : " كان أهل الجاهلية يقصدون مواضع معظمة يزعمهم يزورونها ويتبركون بها، وفيه من التحريف والفساد ما لا يخفى، فسد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الفساد لن لا يلتحق غير الشعائر بالشعائر ولن لا يصير ذريعة لعبادة غير الله تعالى. والحق عندي أن القبر و محل عبادة ولي من الأولياء والطور كل ذلك سواء في النهي."

In his *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* Shah Waliullah made the matter more clear. When he discussed on the Hadith of Prophet, "Do not put saddle on the camel (for travelling) except to the three Mosques"¹ mentioned the opinion of Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d 505H/1111) in this regard and strongly opposed him. The Shah mentioned that Imam al-Ghazali had permitted for visiting the graves of holy men for obtaining blessings and he had supposed the unmentioned prohibited places in the beginning of Hadith as mosques only not any other place and then the three mosques have been excepted from all mosques. In this supposition the meaning of Hadith will be "Do not put saddle on the camel (to travel) to any mosque except to these three mosques. Therefore, the forbidden places are all mosques except these three mosques and any other place like grave etc are not included in forbidden places"²

Refusing the above mentioned opinion of al-Ghazali the Shah said, "I do not agree with al-Ghazali in this explanation. Because the ban of the Prophet here in order to close the means of exceeding attention to any place except these three mosques. The pre-Islamic (*jahili*) peoples used to exalt some places fixed by themselves. Above said meaning is not got if the unmentioned word in the Hadith is supposed to be mosques only. Therefore, the unmentioned word in the *Hadith* must be supposed as general not only the mosques particularly. Then the exact meaning of the Hadith is "Do not put saddle on the camel to travel to any exalted place or any mosque except these three glorified mosques only"³

In his *Al-Fawz al-Kabir* the Shah stated, "If you want to see the true picture of the conditions of polytheists (*mushriks* of pre-Islamic age) then look at the condition and action of general and ignorant people of these times, particularly at those who living in the outskirts of the Muslim countries, how

¹ - Bukhari and others, see supra, foot note no 5, p 134

² - Shah Waliullah, *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*, Dairat al-Ma'arif al-Uthmaniya, Hyderabad, 1368H/1949, p 109, it is included in the introduction of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, with commentary of Maulana Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri, Chapter Fadh al-Salat fi Masjid Makkah, *Asah al-Matabi*, Delhi, 1940, p 29. For details see Imam al-Ghazali, *Ihya Ulum al-Din*, op cit, Chapter Asrar al-Hajj, Vol 1, pp 324-252, and Chapter Ziarat al-Qubur, Vol 5, p 126

³ - *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*, op cit, p 29 "ولي على هذا اعتراض " فتر العرالي الكلام

they think in sainthood (*walayat*) and what is there imagination in it? They are going to graves, tombs and ancient monuments and committing many kind of polytheistic works (*shirk*). How the similarity and corruption (of pre-Islamic polytheists) have interred them in this period!"¹

In his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* the Shah said, "We have seen the weak Muslims that they have taken the pious men as their *Rabbs* (Lords) except Allah and made their graves mosques as the Jews and Christians used to do."²

Regarding the visiting of graves Shah Waliullah fully supported Imam Ibn Taimiyah, as he said, "It has been narrated that Ibn Taimiyah had prohibited from visiting the grave of the prophet (PBUH), but this kind of statement had not been related from him with clear and sound evidence. As for me, he did not prohibit from visiting the grave if it was performed according to *Shari'ah*.³ He has forbidden from visiting of graves according to the meaning of Hadith: "Do not put saddle on the camel (to journey) except to the three mosques"⁴ and the Hadith: "Do not make my (Prophet) grave festival place."⁵ The Shah said, "As long as there is a scope for alternate judgement of his (Ibn Taimiyah) verdict, then this kind of pressure should not be made on him."⁶ The Shah further said, "Nothing in the writings of Ibn Taimiyah is unsupported by textual authority from the Quran and *Sunnah* or the practices of the earliest pious Muslims. A scholar like him is rarely found in the world. Is there anybody who can be compared with him either in speech or writings? Those who have opposed him did not possess even one-tenth of Ibn Taimiyah's talents."⁷

¹ - Al-Fauz al-Kabir, op cit, p 5

² - Al-Tafhimat, op cit, p 2/134

³ - Maktubat Ma'a Manaqib al-Bukhari wa Fadhilat Ibn Taimiyah, op cit, p 28, and see Ibn Taimiyah, Risalah Ziarat al-Qubur (with Majmu' Rasail), ed Sayid Badruddin al-Halabi, Egypt, 1323 H, pp 106, 109

⁴ - Bukhari and others, supra, foot note. 5, p 134

⁵ - Abu Dawud, Supra, foot note no 2, p 134

⁶ - Maktubat Ma'a Manqib al-Bukhari wa Fadhilat Ibn Taimiyah, op cit, p 28

⁷ - Ibid, p 27.

Section IV - His Mazhab of Fiqh

To fix the *mazhab* of Shah Waliullah with confirmatoin is a very difficult task His speeches, statements and practices in this regard are variant and controversial although those are not contradictory in consideration of the different times and situations Many peoples tried to bring the Shah to their own group based upon some parts of his statements asiding from his main objective Shah Waliullah studied deeply and widely the origin and resources of all *mazhabs* as well as the history of development of every one of them¹ He observed with anxiety the bad impact of disagreement among the *mazhabs* on the Ummah The conservative mind of Indian judicial scholars in education² and following the prevailing legal issues (*fatawa*) of certain *mazhab* in all circumstances, and non acceptance and dishonour of any other opinion, and narrow mind of *Fuqaha*, all these were well known and very clear to him

In the legality of spiritual song (*sama`*) the contemporary jurists submitted their petition to the Sultan Ghiyathuddin Tughlaq (1320-25) against Shaikh Nizamuddin Badayuni When Shaikh Nizamuddin brought forward his documents the *Fuqaha* did not try to present the document from the Quran and *Sunnah* but without any hesitation declared that the judicial opinions were preferable to *Hadith* in their country,³ and some of them said, "We are not ready to hear these Hadiths which *Shafi`i* has accepted, because he is the enemy of our *mazhab*."⁴ Then Shaikh Nizamuddin astonished and said, "I am presenting the Hadith of the Prophet and you are demanding the opinion of certain *mazhab*!"⁵

¹ - See Hujjatullah al-Balighah, op cit, Vol I, Chapter Asbab Ikhtilaf al-Sahabah wal-Tabi in fil-Furu, Chapter Asbab Ikhtilaf Mazahib al-Fuqaha and Chapter Al-Farq Baina Ahl al-Hadith wa Ahl al-Rai and the book Al-Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al-Ikhtilaf and Al-Musauwa and Musaffa the two explanations of the Muwatta of Imam Malik

² - See supra, chapter 1, section III, pp 21, 23- 24

³ - If they had tried to bring forward the documents from the *Sunnah* against the song they would have been got it

⁴ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit, p 12

⁵ - Dr Abdur Rahman Firwai, Juhud Mukhlisah fi Khidmat al-Sunnat al-Mutahharah, Matha ah Salafiyah, Banaras, 1406 H/1986, p 38

The Turk and Rohila were the most rigid in following the opinions of their jurists and most strong in fasting and supporting them¹

In his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* the Shah described the condition of learneds in regard of *mazhab*, "The condition of most of you is that if any *Hadith* of the Prophet reaches him he is not practicing it saying that my practice is according to the *mazhab* of someone not on *Hadith*. Afterwards he presents the cause that the understanding of *Hadith* and giving opinion according to it are the duty of fully expert scholars. Moreover, the *Hadith* was well known to the former *Imams*. If they left it left only for its abrogation or being weak comparing with others. Remember! there is no value of these kind of speeches. If you really believe in the Prophet you should follow him whether it contradicts any *mazhab* or agrees with it."²

Regarding the attitude of general public in this case the Shah mentioned, "Look at the general public of every part of the country in these times, how have they bound themselves by the certain *mazhab* from the *mazhabs* of earlier men, and have thought that going out of the followed *mazhab* even in a single case as going out of the Muslim nation (*Millat*). And the followed person as like the Prophet in such a manner that his obedience has been obligated to him by the *Shari'ah*."³ Whereas the actual fact is that the earlier people of the nation before the fourth century of *Hijra* (10th C.E.) did not bind themselves by any *mazhab*.⁴

The Shah also mentioned the condition of judicial narrowness of the people in his many books. In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* he stated that the people after fourth century H. step by step accustomed with absolute *taqlid* who did not distinct between truth and false and between logical argumentation and inference (*istinbat*). The jurists now a days are talkative and eloquent who

¹ - Muhsin Turhati, *Al-Yani al-Jani*, op cit, p 83 "كانوا أشد قوم عصبية لما ينتحلونه من آراء فقهاءهم وأشد الناس جموداً عليها". see also, Manazir Ahsan Ghilani, op cit, p 243, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, pp 81-81, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit., p 140

² - *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya*, op cit, p 1/215

³ - *Ibid*, p 1/215

⁴ - *Ibid*, p 1/151, *Hujjatullah al-Balighah*, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas Qabl, op cit, p 1/386

have memorized the opinions of other *Faqihs* either strong or weak without justification and then pour them by quick moving their jaws"¹

Regarding the *mazhab* of Shah Waliullah his own statement proves that after a deep and wide study of *fiqh* and *usul* of four *mazhabs* with their resources from the *Hadith* for twelve years in India and by the light of divine help his heart became satisfied with the method of jurio-traditionalists (*Fuqaha Muhaddithin*).² During his 14 months staying period (beginning from 15.11 1143H.) in *Hyaz* he studied *Hadith* and *fiqh* under the scholars of different *mazhabs*, like Shaikh Tajuddin al-Qala'i was a *Hanafite* scholar and Shaikh Wafduallah Makki was a *Malikite* scholar and his most important and influential teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir Kurdi was a *Shafi'ite* scholar.³ Moreover, in the field of *'aqida* as his main teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir (d.1145H./1733) he was more closed to Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal.⁴ All these factors contributed to acquaint him directly with the jurisprudence and distinctive features of the *Shafi'ite* and *Malikite* and *Hunblite* schools which had not been available to any earlier Indian scholar owing to geographical, political and cultural reasons. This made a comparative study of the different juristic schools easier for the Shah in comparison to his predecessors Indian scholars.

By nature Shah Waliullah did not like the principle of *taqlid*. As he stated in his *Fuyudh al- Haramain*, "The Prophet has instructed me to stay in the circle of these prevailing four *mazhabs* and not to go out of them and to try my best to reconcile among them although my nature dislikes and disgusts the *taqlid* totally, but it is something which has been required from me against my will."⁵ In some place the Shah mentioned that he was *Hanafite* in practice and

¹ "فنشأت بعدهم قرون على التقلد الصرف لا يميزون الحق عن الباطل ولا الجدل عن الاستنباط. فالفقيه يومئذ هو الثارثار المتشقق الذي حفظ أقوال الفقهاء قلوبها و ضعيفها من غير تمييز و سردها بشقشقة شذقيه."

² "وبعد ملاحظه كتب مذاهب اربعة واصول فقه ايشان واحاديث كه متمسك ايشان است قرار داد خاطر بمدد نور غيبي روش فقهاء محدثين افتاد."

³ - Anfas al- Arifin (Insan al- Ain), op cit , pp 401- 2, supra , Chapter II, Section II, p 44

⁴ - Supra, Chapter III, Section I, pp 88- 89

⁵ - *Fuyudh al- Haramain* , op cit , p. 277, (33rd vision) " الوصاة بالتقيد بهذه المذاهب الأربعة لا أخرج منها و التوفيق ما استطعت، وجبلي تأبى التقليد وتأنف منه رأساً..... بخلاف نفسي."

Hanafi with *Shafi'i* in study and teaching¹ In another place the Shah said, "We shall take in the judicial matters those opinions on which the scholars are unanimous especially the scholars of these two great *mazhabs*, *Shafi'i* and *Hanafi*, particularly in the field of purification (*taharah*) and prayer (*salah*) If the unification is not easier and they are variant than we will take what is supported by apparent and acceptable Hadith, and we do not disface any scholar, because all are searcher in the truth, and I do not believe in infallibility (*'ismah*) of anyone of them except the Prophet (PBUH)"² In the same book the Shah mentioned that he asked the Prophet about which *mazhab* was best to him then he informed that all *mazhabs* equal and one had no preference to others Moreover, the Shah has seen in his vision that the Scholars of Hadith who were practicing according to their knowledge were more beloved of the Prophet than the *Sufis*.³

In *Al- Tafhumat al- Ilahiya* the Shah stated that year by year the conviction grew upon him that under the present condition right course for the Muslim India was to combine the school of Abu Hanifa and *Shafi'i* into one *mazhab* For this purpose the rules of both schools should be examined in the light of the Hadith of the Prophet, whatever be found in complete conformity with them should realigned and whatever appears to be without a basis of conformity should be discarded⁴ In his *Musaffa Sharh al-Muwatta* the Shah said that since long he had been worried due to disagreement among the *Fuqaha*, then he had been indicated from the heaven at the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (d 179H/795), so he began to work on it⁵

Drawing the attention to the necessity of following the four *mazhabs* Shah Waliullah said that there was a great benefit in firmly holding the four

¹ - Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, pp 108- 9, "الحنفى عملا والشافعى درسا"

² - *Al- Tafhumat al- Ilahiya*, p 2/202

³ - *Ibid*, p 2/250, (Mubashshara no 10, 11), "المذاهب و الطرق كلها سواء ولا فصل لواحد على الآخر"

⁴ - *Al- Tafhumat al- Ilahiya*, p 1/212

⁵ - *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta*, Kutub Khana Rahimiya, Delhi, 1346H, introduction p 3, "اين فقير را مدتی نسب اختلاف مذاهب فقهاء و کثرت احزاب علماء و کشید ہر کیے بحایہ تشویقے راعے بس اشارہ کتاب موطا تالیف امام مالک"

mazhabs.¹ In his *Al Tafhimat al- Ilahiya* the Shah said that it was his duty to conciliate among the differences of *fiqh*.² In reply to his student Muhammad Amin Kashmiri who asked him about his *mazhab* he wrote, "As possible I combine among the famous *mazhabs* in the matters like fasting, *salat*, *wadhu*, *ghusl* and *hajj*, but when the conciliation among them as per document seems to be impossible then I practice according to the apparent Hadith.³ In his *Al-Qaul al-Jamil* the Shah advised that one should not talk about the preference one *mazhab* to others, all were generally accepted and he would follow what was commensurable to the apparent and sound *Sunnah*. If there were two opinions and both had been supported by the documents he would follow which had been accepted by the majority. If the both were proved equal then he could choose any of them and made all *mazhabs* one *mazhab* without rigid alliance.⁴ In the same book the Shah advised the researcher to not accompany the ignorant devouts and illiterate worshippers and rigid *Faqihs* and apparentalist (*zahirī*) *Muhaddithin*.⁵

In his *Wasiyat Nama* the Shah advised, "In the judicial matters you have to follow the learned *Muhaddithin* who have combined between the Hadith and *fiqh* and always submit the legal opinions of *fiqh* before the Book of Allah and the *Sunnah*, and then which of those opinions has been proved commensurable with them accept it unless abandon it. The nation is not free from the responsibility of justifying the legal opinions by the Quran and *Sunnah*."⁶ In his *Ham`at* the Shah said that if there was anybody who could not pursue the books of Hadith and the *athar* (speeches and practices) of *Sahaba* and *Tabi`un* himself then he had no alternative but following one of the four *mazhabs*. But the best and right way was to pursue the Hadith and *athar* and practice according to them.⁷ Shah Waliullah did not like the analogy

¹ - 'Iqd al- Jid fi Ahkam al- Ijtihad wal- Taqlid , op cit , p 31, Hujjatullah al- Baligha, Chapter Hikayat Hal al- Nas Qabl , op cit , p 1/272

² - Al- Tafhimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , pp 1/112, 2/217

³ - Kalimat Tayibat (Maktubat), Matba` Muhtabai, Delhi, 1891, p 161, Dr Mazhar Baqa ,op cit , p 98
"بقدر امکان جمع میکنم در مذاهب مشهوره وعند تعذر الجمع صریح حدیث عمل می نمایم."

⁴ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil, op cit , pp 195- 96

⁵ - Ibid , p 139, "أن يصحب جهال المتعبدین ولا المتكشفة من الفقهاء ولا الظاهرية من المحتشین"

⁶ - Wasiyat Nama, op. cit., p.1, (wasiyat no I).

⁷ - Ham`at, op cit , (Deobond , 1977), p 81

in presence of Hadith, as he declared in his *Al-Khair al-Kathir*, "The analogical *Shari'ats* are not satisfactory to us."¹

Shah Waliullah's intention was noble, and that was how to reduce the differences among the *mazhabs* and the *Fuqaha* and how to reconcile among them and how to make the members of all *mazhabs* nearer to each other and what formula would be formed and how to implement it to fulfill the purpose. As it has become clear by the statements of himself mentioned above. As per his claim the Shah has been given that quality also, as he stated, "Some times Allah reveals to my heart a measure by which I can realize the causes of every disagreement happened in the nation of Muhammad (PBUH), as well as I know what is the truth to Allah and to His Prophet, and Allah has given me the ability to describe every disagreement very clearly, then remains no doubt and no difficulty."² In his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* the Shah mentioned that Allah has opened to him the knowledge of *Shari'ah* which has come out of the tongue of the Prophet, and the descriptions of *Sahaba* and *Tabi'un*, and the clarifications and records of its science which have been presented by the earlier *Muytahids*, and the explanations of their *mazhabs* and speeches, and derivations according to their formula which have been done by the latest *Faqih*s with their systems of arrangements.³

Regarding the *Hanafi mazhab* particularly, the Shah's plan was to make the judicial opinions of this *mazhab* closer to the *Sunnah*, as it would be mentioned in the coming statements.

In his *Fuyudh al-Haramain* the Shah said that the Prophet informed him about a good way to *Hanafi mazhab*, and that was to make the legal opinions of the *mazhab* conforming to sound Hadiths which had been collected by Imam Bukhari (d.256H./870) and his contemporaries and the famous judicial matters of Imam Abu Hanifa (d.150H./767) and Abu Yusuf (d.182H./798) and Imam

¹ - *Al-Khair al-Kathir*, op cit, p 122. "الشرائع القياسية لا تلج لها عندنا"

² - Shah Waliullah, *Al-Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al-Ikhtilaf*, introduction, op cit, p 14, Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas Qabl, op cit, p 1/390

³ - *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya*, op cit, pp 1/149-50

Muhammad (d 189H /804) would be collected and the more nearer opinions of them to the Hadith would be accepted Afterwards the legal opinions (*fatawa*) of those *Hanafi faqih*s would be accepted who are considered as the scholars of Hadith¹ The Shah further said that he had been shown that there was a deep secret in the *mazhab* of *Hanafi* After thinking he realized that in some points *Hanafi mazhab* was preferable and in some other points the other *mazhabs* had the preference to *Hanafi mazhab* In this connection he had seen also that some times an illuminist (*sahib kashf*) realized that the *Hanafi mazhab* had the preference to other *mazhabs* and some time it was revealed to this illuminist that he should hold firmly the *mazhab* of *Hanafi* and some times that illuminist saw in his visions some thing which encouraged him to choose *Hanafi mazhab*²

In the same book the Shah mentioned that it had been opened to him that Allah's will to him was to combine the scattered matters of *Ummah* by him. And he was directed to not contradict the own community in judicial opinions (*furu`at*), because that was the disagreement with the will of Allah In the meantime, an excellent way to making the *fiqh* of *Hanafi* commensurable to the *Sunnah* had appeared to him That was which opinion of Imam Abu Hanifa or Imam Abu Yusuf or Imam Muhammad proved to be nearer to the *Sunnat* he would choose that and which opinion they had left unconditional he would specify them. In arrangement of the legal opinions he would consider their objectives and he confined himself in that work in the clear and open meaning of the *Sunnah* In that regard neither the analogic interoperation would be used nor the one Hadith would be refused by other Hadith nor any Hadith would be left in opposition to any opinion of any person of the *Ummah* This was the ideal way to combine between the *Sunnah* and *fiqh* of *Hanafi mazhab*. He desired that if Allah granted the completion of that way it would be a great work infavour of religion.³

Shah Waliullah's vision regarding agreement with the community in legal opinions was not unconditional but that was bound by some conditions

¹ - Fuyudh al- Haramain, op cit , p 175, (19th vision)

² - Ibid , pp 336- 37

³ - Ibid , pp 221- 22, (31st vision)

And those were, to select famous opinions of the *fiqh* which were more nearer to *Sunnah* and to try continuously to make them commensurable to the *Sunnah*. And if these conditions will be fulfilled, all *mazhabs* will become nearer to each other and the disagreements among the legal opinions will be decreased automatically. And that was the noble intention and great plan of Shah Waliullah. If the some part of his vision is taken and misinterpreted apart from the main objective of Shah Waliullah and said that everyone should follow his community's legal opinion then Shah Waliullah's mission for reconcile among the *mazhabs* each other and making the *Hanafi mazhab* commensurable with the *Sunnah* would be meaningless and subsequently would fail to reach its main target.

Shah Waliullah's study has led him to declare that of these four *mazhabs* the nearest one to the *Sunnah* is that of *Shafi'i*.¹ Therefore, in his *Al-Musaffa Sharh al-Muwatta* he preferred Imam Shafi'i in 70 percent opinions and disagreed with Imam Abu Hanifa in 80 percent opinions.²

This is a matter of discussion that how Shah Waliullah has been advised in the vision to not disagree with the own community and then he himself contradicted them in 70 percent of legal opinions? In answer it may be said that Shah Waliullah's vision might have been contrasted to his experience and practical field of study, so he turned back from his vision based upon the another meaning of vision, because the visions some times bear different meanings. Or as per his condition that he would try to make the opinions of *Hanafi mazhab* congruence with the *Sunnah*, he could not reach his goal then he presented what has been proved preferable according to his *Ijtihad*, and subsequently appeared that it was the *mazhab* of *Shafi'i* in major opinions. It will also be said that the Shah did not contradict the community in practice but contradicted them in study and teaching. But the question is remaining here that how a great reformist like Shah Waliullah practiced

¹ - Al-Khair al-Kathir, op cit, p 124 "وأما هذه المذاهب الأربعة فأقربها إلى السنة مذهب الشافعي"

² - For details see the Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, p 110. Out of 67 opinions the Shah agreed with Imam Shafi'i in 47 and with Imam Abu Hanifa in 7 opinions in his Musaffa (ibid, p 604-11).

according to non preferable verdicts against his knowledge and research in his whole life in 80% opinions ? Is this kind of act legal for a *mufti* or *muftahid* ?¹

Was Shah Waliullah a *muftahid* ? In this connection it is mentionable here that the Shah hinted that he was a *muftahid* and benefited by the books of *Shafi'ite* specially by those of Imam al-Baghawi (d.510H./1117)² As for him, to suppose that there was no *muftahid* available in his age that was the wrong idea.³ As per the statement of Shah Waliullah that he will not go out of the circle of the four *mazhabs*, and his duty is to make all *mazhabs* nearer to each other and to make *Hanafi mazhab* commensurable with the *Sunnah* prove that he was the *muftahid muntasib* not *mutlaq*. According to the conditions of *muftahid mutlaq*⁴ and *muntasib* as mentioned by the Shah⁵ he was the *muftahid mutlaq muntasib*.

As for *muftahid mutlaq muntasib* the Shah said that he who accepted the formula of his *Shaikh* and took help from his opinions mostly in pursuing the documents and knowing the references. In all this he was fully dependent on him in the legal orders according to documents but he was able to infer the legal opinions either more or less.⁶ He further added that the gist of the *muftahid mutlaq muntasib* was that he was the combiner between Hadith and *fiqh* which had been transmitted from their scholars as well as between *usul al-fiqh*. The method of those of *Shafi'ite* was that they had assembled the legal opinions which had been transmitted from Malik, Shafi'i, Abu Hanifa, Sufyan al-Thauri (d.161H./778) and other *muftahids* and submitted them before the *Muwatta* of Malik, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Muslim* and then *Sunan al-Tirmizi*, *Abu*

¹ - For details of this matter see Al-Muafaqat fi Usul al-Shari'ah, Imam Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi, ed Abdul Mun'im Ibrahim, Maktaba Nazar al-Baz, Makkah and Riyadh, 1418H./1997, Vol 4, pp 1027- 1031, Imam Ibn Qayim al-Jauziyah, A'lam al-Muwaqqi'in 'an Rabb al-'Alamin, op cit, Vol 4, pp 156- 57

² - Musaffa, op cit, introduction, p 11, 18

³ - 'Iqd al-Jid, op cit, pp 6- 7

⁴ - The independent opinion holder in legal opinion according to the Quran, Sunnah and then Ijma and Qiyas, (ibid, pp 6-9)

⁵ - Ibid, pp 7, 10, 41-44

⁶ - Ibid, p 10

Dawud and *al-Nasa'i*. After tallying, which opinion agreed with the *Sunnah* textually they accepted that, and which of them disconformed with the *Sunnah* directly rejected that.¹

Regarding the method of the Shah in *fiqh* his son Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz said, "In this regard my father's system is excellent. If anyone of the leading *muftahids* had practiced on certain Hadith then the Hadith would be preferred unless to be acted according to the verdict of *muftahid* not on Hadith, Because the silence of all leading *muftahids* never be reasonless. Probably the number of this kind of cases are only four."² But Shah Waliulla's own speeches like: "Whoever gets the sound Hadith against his *mazhab*, notwithstanding leaves the Hadith and takes the *mazhab* he is a great oppressor and he has no apology before Allah in the day of judgement",³ and "Whenever the Hadith will appear against his opinion he should through out his opinion and take the Hadith immediately"⁴ and "The earlier *Muhaddithun* whenever got a sound Hadith accepted it whether it had been practiced by *Sahaba* or *Faqihs* (jurists) or not"⁵ have a kind of contradiction to the statement of Shah Abdul Aziz. On the other hand, existence a sound Hadith in an authentic book is the best document for its acceptance by the leading *muftahids* and they were not silent on it, unless that Hadith was neither transmitted nor included in authentic book nor treated as a sound Hadith.

According to Dr. Mazhar Baqa the Shah was the *muftahid muntasib* of *Shafi'i mazhab*.⁶ Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi⁷ and Maulna Yusuf Binnauri's⁸ opinion that he was not *muftahid mutlaq* but *muftahid muntasib* of *Hanafite* with paying due respect to Imam Shafi'i. Maulana Binnauri added more and said that some *Hanafite* scholars had given their opinions against the some opinions

¹ - 'Iqd al- Jid, op cit , pp 41- 42

² - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit , p 91

³ - 'Iqd al- Jid, p 40

⁴ - Ibid, p 70, infra, p 149

⁵ - Hujjatullah al- Baligha , op cit , Vol 1, p 1/360, (Chapter Al- Farq Baina Ahl- al- Hadith)
"وسواء عمل به الصحابة والفقهاء أو لم يعملوا به"

⁶ - Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 117

⁷ - Al- Furqan Journal , Waliullah no , op cit pp 327- 28

⁸ - Ibid , pp 390-92

of *Hanafite*, notwithstanding they were treated as *Hanafites*, similarly in spite of Shah's contradiction to some opinions of *Hanafite* he would be considered as *Hanafite*. But Maulana Binnauri will be protested by the research work which has proved that the Shah contradicted *Hanafite* in 80% opinions. No one will agree with the Maulana that the 80% are some opinions, but those are major opinions. Therefore, the Shah will not be ascribed to the group of *Hanafi mujtahids* only. But the more correct opinion may be, he was the *mujtahid* of four *mazhabs* and especially of two of them, *Hanafi* and *Shafi'i*. The 20 percent agreement with *Hanafite* is the best document for this assumption. Some times he preferred the opinion of Imam Malik¹ and some times the opinion of Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal² even some times he went out of the boundary of four *mazhabs* also.³ Before Shah Waliullah there were many *mujtahids* who were ascribed to more than one *mazhab*.⁴

It is also mentionable here that the Shah claimed that he was *Hanafi* in practice, whereas he explained the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik and prefer the major opinions of Imam Shafi'i, and the differences between *Shafi'ite* and *Hunblite* are not so more. Therefore, giving preference the *Shafi'ite* in major cases is the preference of *Hunblite* also. Moreover, as for Shah Waliullah the *mujtahid mullaq muntasib* is qualified for entering the all *mazhabs* and he is not bound to stay in the boundary of one *mazhab*.⁵

For ignorant the Shah opined that he should take the four *mazhabs* or one *mazhab* of the four *mazhabs* on condition that he should change his

¹ - The Shah agreed with Imam Malik in 6 opinions out of 67 opinions in his *Musaffa* and *Al-Musawua*, (Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit, p 612)

² - He agreed with Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal in 5 opinions out of 67 opinions in his *Musaffa* (Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 613-14)

³ - Ibid, pp 97-98

⁴ - Qadhi Ibn Daqiq al-'Eid (d 702-1302) was the Imam of two Mazhabs (Hafiz Abu Abdullah Al-Zahbi, *Tazkirat al-Huffaz*, Dairat al-Ma'rif al-Uthmaniya, Hyderabad, 1377H/1958, Vol 4, p 1482) For details see Imam Tajuddin al-Subki, *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyah al-Kubra*, (6 Volumes), Dar al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, n d and Qadhi Abul Hosain Muhammad Abu Ya'la, *Tabaqat al-Hanabilah* (4 Volumes), Dar al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, n d For example Imam Subki has mentioned Imam Bukhari in the group of Shafi'ite (ibid, Vol 2, pp 2-19), and Qadhi Abu Ya'la included him in the list of Hanbalite (ibid, Vol 1, pp 271-79), whereas Imam Bukhari was neither a member of any mazhab nor he claimed it

⁵ - Iqd al-Jid, op cit, pp 41-42, supra, pp 146-47

mazhab according to Hadith.¹ After quoting Imam Ibn Hazm(d 456H.)² who considers the *taqlid* as prohibited for all either learned or ignorant, the Shah said that to go out of *taqlid* was not possible for ignorant.³ But he has given the ignorant the opportunity to ask any *mufti* of any *mazhab* without any binding and to change the *mufti* and to change his practice.⁴ And whoever did not permit the *Hanafi* for asking the *Shafi'i* scholar or the *Shafi'i* for asking the *Hanafi mufti* he had opposed the consensus of pious of first centuries and contradicted the *Sahaba* and *Tabi'un*.⁵ At the same time the Shah said that the ignorant had no *mazhab* actually ; his *mufti's mazhab* was his *mazhab*.⁶ As evidence he mentioned that the people before the fourth century of *Hyra* (10th C.E.) used to ask any *mufti* they got without distinction between the *mazhabs*.⁷ And said that if the Hadith appeared to any *mufti* he had to change his opinion according to the Hadith.⁸ The Shah Asked that if any Hadith of the Prophet -- who is sinless and obedience to whom Allah has obligated to us - reaches with sound chain against the *mazhab* and we abandon that Hadith and follow that conceptual opinion, then who is the more unjust and oppressor than us and how will we apologize before Allah in the day of judgement?"⁹

Dr. Mazhar Baqa with reference to *Al- Insaf* of Shah Waliullah mentioned that Shah Waliullah has made the *taqlid* of *Hanafi mazhab* obligatory especially to the ignorants and particularly to those of India and to

¹ - Iqd al- Jid , op cit , pp 38- 39, 69- 70, Ham'at, (Deoband, 1977) op cit, p 8

² - Iqd al- Jid , pp 34- 35, Hujjatullah al- Baligha, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas Qabl , op cit pp 1/372-74. Imam Abu Muhammad Ibn Hazm, Al- Ihkam fi Usul al- Ahkam, Dar al- Kutub al-Ilmiya, Beirut, n d Vol 2 pp 233- 333, (chapter Ibtal al-Taqlid)

³ - Iqd al- Jid , pp 38, 67, Hujjatullah al- Baligha, p 1/374

⁴ - Ibid, p 39 " ولا فرق بين أن يستفتي هذا دائما أو يستفتي هذا حينا و هذا حينا " , and also pp 91- 93, Hujjatullah al- Baligha, Hikayat Hal al-Nas Qabl . , p 1/376

⁵ - Iqd al- Jid , p 38, Hujatullah , p 1/375 " فيمن لا يجوز أن يستفتي الحنفي مثلا فقيها شافعيًا وبالعكس فإن هذا قد خالف إجماع القرون الأولى و ناقض الصحابة والتابعين ."

⁶ - Ibid, p 76, Hujjatullah , p 1/363, " ان العامي الصرف ليس له مذهب معين، وانما مذهبه فتوى المفتي. "

⁷ - Hujjatullah, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas Qabl , p 1/368- 69, "اعلم أن الناس كانوا قبل المائة الرابعة غير مجمعين على التقليد الخالص لمذهب واحد بعينه...واذا وقعت لهم واقعة استفتوا فيها أي مفت وجدوا أنهم كانوا يعملون و يفتون بالمذاهب من غير " also Iqd al- Jid , pp 81-82, " من غير تعيين مذهب. " " التزام مذهب معين من زمن أصحاب المذاهب... "

⁸ - Iqd al-Jid, pp 36- 37, 70 " فمتى ظهر حديث يخالف قوله نبيه وأخذ بالحديث "

⁹ - Ibid, p 40, Hujjatullah, pp 1/376 -77, " فان بلغنا حديث من الرسول المعصوم الذي فرض الله علينا فمن أظلم منا وما عذرنا يوم يقوم الناس لرب العالمين؟ "

go out of *mazhab* is forbidden (*haram*).¹ But Dr. Mazhar did not quote the statement of the Shah completely as well as he did not mention the conditions brought fourth by him. Actually the Shah said, "If there was any ignorant people in the countries of India and *Ma Wara an-Nahr* and there was no learned *Shafi`i* or *Maliki* or *Hanbali* available and no book of those *mazhabs* was found then it was obligatory to him to *taqlid* the *mazhab* of Abu Hanifa, and it was forbidden to him to go out of his *mazhab*, because then he would unfasten the tie of *Shari`ah* from his neck and would remain worthless and deserted."²

It is natural that when no learned man except only one *mazhab* will be got then one should ask which learned man they will get. But if there any learned of any other *mazhab* is available or the books of other *mazhabs* are found in India or *Mu Waru an-Nuhur* or the people are able to collect them from other countries by any source, in these circumstances has the Shah forbidden them from taking their *fatawa* from other *mazhabs*? In fact the Shah has made the matter easy and open while the sources are available. As the Shah mentioned in the last of his *Al-`Iqd al-Jid*, "In major factors these kinds of hard and fast rules and regulations are actually the prohibiting the people from taking which is easier. It is permissible for the ignorant to practice according the opinion of the *mufti* which is more easy to him. We don't know which textual document or reason has prohibited him from it"³

Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi based upon the above mentioned statement and specially the statement of *Fuyudh al-Haramain*, "Do not contradict your own community"⁴ has derived many suppositions. As like: "In the centre of Delhi there was no necessity for the *fiqh* of *Shafi`i*, because in Delhi the *fiqh* of *Hanafi* always existed."⁵ And "On this basis we expatriated from India those

¹ - Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, p 103 (with reference to *Al-Insaf* of the Shah, pp 70- 71)

² - *Al- Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al-Ikhtilaf*, op cit , pp 70- 71 "فاذا كان انسان جاهل في بلاد الهند و بلاد ما وراء النهر، و ليس هناك عالم شافعي ولا مالكي و لا حنبلي ولا كتاب من كتب هذه المذاهب الأربعة، وجب عليه أن يقلد بمذهب أبي حنيفة ويحرم عليه أن يخرج من مذهبه ، لأنه"

³ - *`Iqd al-Jid*, op cit , p 93

⁴ - *Fuyudh al-Haramain*, op cit , pp 221- 22 (31st vision), supra, p 144

⁵ - *Al- Furqan Journal*, op cit., p. 323. " دهلي كي مركز مين فقه شافعي كي مطلقا ضرورت نهين تهي. "

who have the relation with Shah Waliullah and even then they are not ready to become *Hanafi*. They have no right to interfere into the activities of India."¹ And "Shah Sahib has reformed the *fiqh* of *Hanafite*. Now his opinion is that how long the sound Hadiths are available, every opinion of *Fuqaha* of *Hanafite* must be commensurable to them, therefore, no necessity is remain for giving any attention to the *fiqh* of *Shafi'ite*."²

According to the Maulana Sindhi's inference and declaration, Shah Waliullah himself had no right to stay in India, because he had contradicted his community and had preferred the *Shafi'i fiqh* to *Hanafi fiqh* in major cases. And his attention to the *fiqh* and *usul* of Imam Shafi'i and non-aligned research and study of them, which led him to prefer them to *Hanafi fiqh* and *usul* were unnecessary and wasting the times only. No doubt this kind of derivations are undue interference into the Shah's own attitude and thinking. The problem is created here due to little attention to the texts and more inference and derivation by some writers in favour of their own thought.

It is clear that Shah Waliullah has obligated the holding any *mazhab* for ignorants, but what is the kind of that *taqlid*? According to the Shah they have the right to ask any *mufti* of any *mazhab*, they have the right to change the *mufti* and to practice according to the *Sunnah*, and they have no *mazhab* actually and *mufti's mazhab* is their *mazhab*. Then if the ignorants of the Indian sub-continent follow the method of this kind of *taqlid* described by Shah Waliullah will there any difference remain between *taqlid* and un-*taqlid*? If the method of Shah Waliullah which has been followed by him in his own life in researching the opinions of *Fuqaha* of four *mazhabs* and especially the *Hanafi* and *Shafi'i* and justifying them according to the *Sunnah* had been accepted and practiced by the Indian learneds, the differences and disagreements among the *mazhabs* would have been decreased. But some scholars who are not

¹ - Al-Furqan Journal, Shah Waliullah no, op cit, p 325 "اسی بنا پر ہم نے شاہ صاحب سے
تعلق رکھنے والے ایسے لوگوں جو حنفی بننا نہیں چاہتے ہندوستان سے خارج کر دیا ہے"

² - Ibid, p 326 "شاہ صاحب نے حنفی فقہ میں تجدید کر دی، اب انکی رائے یہ ہے کہ اس لئے فقہ
شافعی کی طرف توجہ کرنیکی ضرورت باقی نہیں رہتی"

ready to realize the basic and noble objective of Shah Waliullah are trying to pull him from his own spacious street to their own congested lane

In this connection some other Indian scholars' opinions may be mentioned below

Maulana Manazir Ahsan Ghilani stated that Shah Sahib had removed the screen from the *fiqh* and *usul al-fiqh* and cleared the accurate positions of leading *muftahids* and their opinions. Some persons had the objection that the non-*taqlid* had been started from Shah Waliullah, and the group who did not hold the *taqlid* were treating him as their leader. But the learned had the knowledge that if the Indian Muslims had not obtained the informations which had been prepared by Shah Waliullah's endeavours then due to the *Wahhabi* movement which had reached India from the *Najd* on the way of *Hijaz* and which had been instigated by the Europeans for their own objectives, rarely a single *Hanafi* would have been gotten in colonized India. The truth is that which measure for understanding the Hadith had been brought forward by the Shah and which way of conciliation among the *fiqh* and Hadith had been shown by him before the learned by his continuous indications in his books like *Al-Insaf*, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, some chapters of *Al-Tafhimat*, partially *Izalat al-Khafa* and specially in the explanations of *Muwatta*, now a days the *Hanafite* by the God given insight are standing on that foundation "¹

With full respect to Maulana Ghilani it may be stated here that the fact is that Shah Waliullah (1114-1176H /1703-1762) was the contemporary of Shaikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1115-1206 H /1703-1792) and the Shah stayed in *Hijaz* 14 months, but he did not speak about his movement in his any book but he was silent about that Shah Waliullah did not express any positive or negative reaction about that movement, then from which book of Shah Waliullah Maulana Ghilani obtained the informations about *Wahhabi* movement? Was there any direct relation of Indian so-called *Wahhabi* movement with the *Wahhabi* movement of *Najd* or not? This is a very controversial and

¹ - Tazkirah Shah Waliullah, op cit, pp 243, 245

disputed matter among the historians. Almost all writers' answer is negative. Moreover, so-called *Wahhabis* in India were the direct enemies of Europeans and the Europeans also their opponents. The long-termed fight between them is a historical truth. The references are huge and in several languages.¹ Then how Maulana Ghilani blames that Wahhabi movement (so called) is instigated by Europeans? Everybody has the right to accept or refuse any thought but he has no right to change the historical truth.

In this context Professor Abdul Ali's opinion is worthy of mention. He stated, "The *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement which was inspired by the school of thought of Shah Wali Allah of Delhi, who in the eighteenth century, imparted renewed emphasis on the study of Hadith, and raised his voice against the principle of *taqlid* in legal matters by justifying the principle of *ijtihad*, which gave Hadith the right of primacy over the rulings of the juristic schools. This particular trend in Shah Wali Allah's thought became the starting point of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement."² He further stated, "The *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement which was started in India in the nineteenth century was quite different from that of Wahhabism, because it drew its inspiration not from Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhab of Najd but from his Indian contemporary Shah Waliullah of Delhi. At the same time there is no denying the fact that both these movements had some elements of religious purification in their rejection of *taqlid* and innovation."³

¹ - For details of so-called Wahhabi movement in India see: The Indian Muslims of W W Hunter, Tazkira-i-Sadiqa of Maulvi Abdur Rahim Sadiqpurī, Kala Pani of Ja'far Thanawari, Sayid Ahmad Shahid, Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin and Jama'at-i-Mujahidin of Ghulam Rasul Mehr, The Wahabi Movement of India of Qeyamuddin Ahmad, Sirat Sayid Ahmad and Iza Habbat Rih al-Iman of Maulana Abul Hasan 'Ali Nadwi, A comparative study of the Early Wahhabi Doctrines and Contemporary Reform Movements in Indian Islam (unpublished thesis, Oxford, 1953) of Dr. Muhammad Abdul Bari, Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab - Eik Badnam Musleh of Maulana Mas'ud Alam Nadwi, Sayid Ahmad Shahid and his Mission of Muhiuddin Ahmad, History of the Muslims of Bengal of Dr. Muhammad Mohar Ali, Vol II B, Wahabi Andolon (Bengali) of Justice Maudud Ahmad, Ahle-Hadees Andolon in Southern Asia (Published thesis in Bengali) of Dr. Muhammad Asadullah al-Ghalib, Al-Harakah al-Salafiyah fil-Bangal, (unpublished thesis in Arabic, Al-Imam University, Riyadh, 1993) of Muhammad Mosleh Uddin etc

² - Professor Abdul Ali, Article 'Contribution of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan to Islamic Religious Sciences', Presented in the Seminar on 'Development of Islamic religion and Philosophy in India' arranged by the Deptt of Philosophy, Aligarh Muslim University, India on 20-21 June, 2002, pp 2-3

³ - Ibid, Abdul Ali, p 4

According to Maulana Ghilani the *Hanafite* are standing on the method of Shah Waliullah in understanding the Hadith and conciliating among the contradictory Hadiths. The question is arising here that are the *Hanafī Madrasahs* or *muftis* preferring the opinions of *Shafi'i* in their study or teaching or in giving their judicial verdicts according to the sound Hadith with noble objective to conciliate among the *mazhabs*? Whereas Shah Waliullah has given Imam Shafi'i preference to Imam Abu Hanifa in 80% opinions. Therefore, the claim of Maulana Ghilani is baseless and unproved. Following or disfollowing the Shah is up to one's wish but one's claim should be conformed with the practical field.

Hakim Mahmud Ahmad Barakati stated that even Shah Waliullah's son Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and his younger brother Shaikh Ahlullah had did not followed his method completely. The Deobandis also had not accepted him in real meaning.¹

Maulana Manzur Nu'mani said that Shah Sahib's stand and intention were to reconcile between *taqlid* and *un-taqlid* based upon the justice and balance and to remove the rigidity (*'asabiyat*). Some people made the Shah perpetual enemy of *Hanafite* and *taqlid* and some others had tried to prove him as the supporter of prevailing *Hanafite* and *taqlid*. If the circle of *Hanafite* would be extended then Shah Waliullah would be *Hanafī*. But according to the prevailing meaning of *taqlid* in our community now a days, to declare Shah Sahib as *Hanafī* is injustice and oppression to him. In these times the *Hanafis* are not ready to establish the *usul* and legal opinions on the basis of the Quran and *Sunnah*. The people of *Jama'at -i- Ahlī Hadith* also have taken there own system of *fiqh*, and cherished the animosity with *Hanafite* and become the caller to practice on apparent *Hadith* and they have not given attention to the guidance of the Shah in acceptance the four *mazhabs*.²

¹ - Shah Waliullah aur unka Khandan, op cit , pp 32, 34

² - Al- Furqan Journal , Waliullah no , op cit , pp 421- 23

The most renowned *Ahli Hadith* scholar and leader Sayid Nazir Hosain (d 1220-1320H) with reference to *Iqd al-Jid*¹ of Shah Waliullah said, "According to Shah Waliullah the *taqlid* is obligatory for the ignorant but without fixing one *mazhab* or one person and the *mufti* has to search continuously about the *Sunnah* and whenever he get the Hadith against his opinion he should through out his opinion and accept the Hadith"²

The former Secretary General of all Pakistan *Ahli Hadith* Conference Shaikh Isma'il Salafi said, "Shah Waliullah's intention was to create a way for making balance in the *fiqh* apart from the exaggeration"³ He permitted the *taqlid*, because the learneds have the knowledge of the Quran and *Sunnah* and the ignorant should be benefited from them As for the learned, whenever the sound Hadith will reach him the relation of *taqlid* would be ended at the moment The *taqlid* and interpretation in presence of sound Hadith are disgusted to the Shah⁴ Shah Sahib's opinion is, for the purpose of breaking the hardness of *taqlid* some times the opinions of *Hanafite* would be accepted and some times the verdicts of *Shafi'ite* would be taken Action should be taken according to the reality, instead of earlier *Ahl al-Rai* the Quran and *Sunnah* should be taken as the basis, as well as for escaping from the *Zahiri Ahl al-Hadith* deep thought (*tafaqquh*) should be used⁵ Apparently Shah Sahib was inclined to the *Hanafi fiqh* His family's *mazhab* was generally *Iraq* based But Shah Sahib was not satisfied with the rigidity on the speculative *fiqh*, therefore he has broken the system of that *fiqh*⁶

¹ - "اعلم ان تقليد محتهد على وجهين واحد و حرام ان الحاهل بالكتاب ، op cit , p 69 ، *Iqd al-Jid* ، فمتى ظهر حديث يحالف قوله بنده و أحد بالحديث والسنة بلا تعيين

² - Sayid Nazir Husain, Mi yar al-Haq, Maktaba Naziriya, Lahore, 1384 H, pp 75- 76

³ - Muhammad Isma'il Salafi, Tahrik Azadi Fikr aur Shah Waliullah ki Tajdidi Masa i Maktaba Naziriya, Lahore, 1982, p 171

⁴ - Ibid, p 130

⁵ - Ibid, pp 130-36

⁶ - Ibid p 115

Maulana `Abdullah al-Kafi (d 1960)¹ with reference to the *Musaffa*² of Shah Waliullah said that he was the supporter of *ijtihad* in every age because, the problems are innumerable and the legal opinions of the earlier *Faqih*s are not sufficient to meet the contemporary problems.³ And then with reference to *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*⁴ he mentioned eleven characteristics of earlier *Ahl al-Hadith* which have been stated by Shah Waliullah.⁵

Imam Khan Nawshahravi stated that in his books the Shah after comprising between *taqlid* and *`amal bil-Hadith* (action according to Hadith) preferred the practice according to Hadith openly.⁶

Professor Asadullah al-Ghalib⁷ said that Shah Waliullah had a valuable contribution to reconcile among the contradictory opinions between four *mazhabs*. He used to say that the verdicts of *Hanafi* and *Shafi`i mazhabs* which were commensurable with the Hadith would be accepted and which were not commensurable with the Hadith would be rejected. And according to his own claim the Shah would not go out of four *mazhabs* although the *taqlid* was disgusting to him.⁸

Maulana Mas`ud Alam Nadwi said, "The most important matters in which the Shah has spoken in his books and given his opinion, that is his upright and balanced verdict on *fiqh*. That is he neither aligned with rigidity to any *mazhab* nor refuted other one. But he observed all *mazhabs* of *fiqh* and opinions of *Imams* and their derivations, and then brought them forward and investigated them with their documents and arguments. Then he accepted in every matter which is the more commensurable with Hadith and documents as

¹ - The founder President of All Bengal and Asam Jam`iyat Ahli Hadith and then that of east Pakistan

² - *Musaffa*, op cit , introduction , p 12

³ - Abdullah al-Kafi, *Ahli Hadith Parichiti*, Al-Hadith Publishing House, Dhaka, 1992 , p 105

⁴ - *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Chapter Al-Farq baina Ahl al-Hadith wa Ashab al-Rai, op cit , pp 1/356-68

⁵ - Abdullah al-Kafi, pp 132- 35

⁶ - *Tarajim Ulama-i- Hadith -i- Hind*, op cit , p 16

⁷ - *Amir of Ahl Hadees Andolon (Movement)*, Bangladesh and Professor & Chairman of Arabic Dept , Rajshahi University, Bangladesh

⁸ - Dr Asadullah al- Ghalib, *Ahl Hadees Andolon in South Asia*, op cit , p 247

per his observation He did not consider the truth and rightness are confined to certain *mazhab* of the *mazhabs* of *I'faqih*s Like as he did not align to any certain *mazhab* and accepted no opinion till it conformed with the text of *Shari'ah* and his mind satisfied with it Therefore, we get him accepts the *mazhab* of Abu Hanifa in some cases, and takes the opinion of *Shafi'i* in other opinions, like as inclines to Malikite or Hunbalite in some other verdicts So, his *mazhab* in *fiqh* is the *mazhab* of research (*tahqiq*) and acceptance the document without alignment with any *mazhab* or denying others "¹

Maulana Maududi's opinion in this regard is, "The most important reform work of Shah Waliullah is, he has presented a balanced *mazhab* in the legal opinions of *fiqh* without inclining to any *mazhab* or hurting others This *Imam* has studied all *mazhabs* of *fiqh* and their *usuls* and methods of inference perfectly, then he has given his own opinion without inclining to or influenced by any one of them If he supports any *mazhab* in any opinion that is according to document he has gotten, not due to personal attraction, similarly if he contradicts any *mazhab* that is according to document opposes it not due to his personal malice to it Therefore, you are seeing him as a *Hanafi* in some opinions and as a *Shafi'i* in others This *Imam* when speaks on any judicial case in his books speaks as a researcher and *muftahid* Whoever studies his books does not obtain the principles of *ijtihad* only but he obtains the practical training on research and *ijtihad* also "²

Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi's view on the connective matter is, "A significant achievement of the Shah which constituted a part of his endeavour for the regeneration of Islam as well as propagation of the Hadith and restoration of the Prophet's *Sunnah* was to establish the rapport between the Hadith and *fiqh* in order to combine and reconcile the four juristic schools His efforts in this direction were in fulfillment of the inspiration claimed to have been received by him from the holy Prophet that God would bless his effects for the consolidation of the Muslims in a particular way "³

¹ - Tarkh al- Da wat al- Islamiyah fil- Hind, op cit , 153- 54

² - Tajdid Din wa Ihyathi (Arabic tr), op cit , p 94

³ - Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit p 140

Dr Muhammad Ishaq's opinion in this connection may be mentioned here, as he said, "Shah Sahib's main endeavour had not been to accentuate but to minimize the differences existing in the *Mazhabih -i- Arba`a*, particularly those existing between the *Hanafite* and the *Shafi`ite* schools. With that end in view, he would analyze all those *masail-i- fiqhiva* emphasizing over their points of agreement only, without giving preference to one school over the other - a process that not only helped to broaden the vision and outlook of the young learners but also inculcated in them a spirit of respect and large- hearted toleration for all the four *Imams* and the systems they sponsored "¹

¹ - India's contribution to Hadith Literature, op cit , p 174

Chapter IV

Development of Hadith in Indian Sub-Continent till Shah Waliullah

The scholars have classified the stages of development of Hadith in Indian sub-continent into different stages according to their own study and thought¹ We are going to mention the periods of development of Hadith in Indian sub-continent classifying them into four stages under four sections

Section 1 - Ist Stage : From `Arab Expedition to their Fall (23-388H. /643-998).

Arabian Muslims reached the Indian territory during the caliphate of second Caliph Umar bin Khattab (R) (13-23H) The first and the earliest naval expedition of the Arab to India was directed against Thana, a sea port near Bombay `Uthman bin Abil `As al-Thaqafi (d 51 or 55H /671 or 676) a companion of the Prophet, who was the governor of Bahrain and Oman during the Caliphate of second Caliph `Umar bin al-Khattab, sent this expedition under the command of his brother Al-Hakam bin Abil `As al-Thaqafi, who was also the companion of the Prophet The landing of the forces on the coast of Gujrat heralded the advent of the *Sahaba* in south India² Similar expeditions were also sent against Broach and to the gulf of Debal under the command of his another brother Mughira bin Abil As al-Thaqafi³

¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai indicated to 5 stages, (Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit , pp 132-42) whereas Dr Ishaq mentioned 4 stages (India's contribution to Hadith Literature, introduction op cit pp X - XIII, meanwhile Prof Asadullah al-Ghalib opined on 3 stages (Ahle Hadees Andolon op cit , p 205)

² -Dr Ishaq, pp 6- 7

³ -Ibid, p 7

During the caliphate of third Caliph 'Uthman (R) (23-35H.), 'Ubaidullah bin Ma'mar al-Tamimi a companion of the Prophet was sent to subdue the hill tribes of Sind which comprised the west of Indus. He brought the extending from Mukran to Indus under his control as well. Henceforth Arab hold over the region appears to have taken a permanent footing.¹

During the period of Amir Mu'awia (41-60H./661-681) Sinan bin Salamah al-Muhabbig al-Huzali was appointed the commander for the Indian frontiers in 48H./668. He proved himself a capable general and good administrator. He has been killed at Qusdar in Baluchistan in 53H./673.²

The foundation of an 'Arab principality in Sind in the nineties of the first century H. was an epoch-making event in that it threw the gates of the territory open to the Arabian Muslims. After the conquest of Sind by the 'Arab commander Muhammad bin Qasim in 93H./711, 'Arab immigrants poured into Sind both by sea and land routes. Muhammad bin Qasim stationed at Multan and there were 50,000 'Arab horsemen as permanent force.³ Thus arose and flourished in the far eastern territory of the caliphate several 'Arab colonies of which the principal were Mansura (Karachi), Multan, Debal, Sindan, Qusdar and Qandabil.⁴ These colonies early became the seats of Islamic learning.⁵

During the long period of 'Arab rule in Sind which covered near about 350 years, many companions of the Prophet, *Tabi'un*, *Taba' Tabi'in* and their successors have arrived in Indian territory and taught the people Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH) along with other Islamic knowledge staying in different centres

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 15-16.

² -Ibid, pp 17-18, Prof. Asadullah al- Ghalib, op cit , p 206.

³ -Ibid, p 21-22, Maulana Muhammad 'Abdur Rahim, Hadis Shankolaner Itihash, (Bengali), Khairun Publication, Dhaka, 2000, p 458.

⁴ - Dr Ishaq, p 22, 'Abdur Rahim, p 458, Prof al- Ghalib, p 207.

⁵ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Al- Thaqafah al- Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit , p 135, Dr Ishaq, p 22, Abdur Rahim, p 458, Prof al-Ghalib, p 207.

of it There were 14¹ to 18 companions² of the Prophet have arrived in India However, we are going to mention in this section some outstanding personalities who have the contribution to develop the Hadith literature in Indian sub-continent directly or indirectly during the rule of Arab

Sinan bin Salamah bin al-Muhabbib al-Huzali (d 53H/673)

It has been mentioned earlier that he had been appointed commander for the Indian frontier³ According to the statement of Hafiz Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d 852H/1449) he was a younger companion of the Prophet and transmitted Hadith from the Prophet himself and 'Umar bin Khattab and Abdullah bin 'Abbas⁴

Musa bin Ya'qub al-Thaqafi

He accompanied Muhammad bin Qasim to Sind and appointed Qadhi of Alor by the latter He permanently settled in Sind and was highly learned in the *Sunnah* of the Prophet His family at Uch appears to have long enjoyed reputation for learning and scholarship as is evidenced from the fact that as late as 613H/1216, Isma'il bin 'Ali al-Thaqafi, a descendant of his, was a mine of learning and a soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in knowledge, piety and eloquence⁵

¹ - Qadhi Athar Mubarakpuri, *Rijal al-Sind wal-Hind ila al-Qarn al-Sabi*, Dar al-Ansar, Cairo 1398H/1978, Vol 2, pp 319-547 Those Sahabis were Al-Hakam bin Abul As al-Thaqafi, Al-Hakam Hakam bin Amr al-Thalabi, Al-Khurrit bin Rashid al-Naji al-Sami, Al-Rabi bin Ziyad al-Sami Sinan bin Salamah al-Huzali, Sahal bin Adi al-Ansari, Sahar bin Abbas al-Abadi, Abdullah bin Utban al-Ansari, Ubaidullah bin Ma'mar al-Tamimi, Uthman bin Abul As al-Thaqafi, Umar bin Uthman bin Sa'ad, Kulaib Abu Wail, Al-Mughira bin Abul As al-Thaqafi and Al-Munzir bin al-Jarud al-Abadi

² - Qadhi Athar Mubarakpuri, *Al-Iqd al-Thamin fi Futuh al-Hind wa man Warada fiha min al-Sahaba wa al-Tabi'in*, Al-Matba' al-Hamidiyah Azamgarh, 1388H/1968 pp 53-77, 85-94 101 106 132, 139 With addition of four other Sahaba Asim bin Amar al-Tamimi Abdullah bin Umar al-Ashja'i, Mushaji bin Mas'ud bin Thalaba al-Sulami Abdur Rahman bin Samura al-Qurashi

³ - Supra, p 159

⁴ - Hafiz Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, *Tahzib al-Tahzib*, op cit Vol 2, pp 433-434

⁵ - Dr Ishaq, op cit, p 23, Abdur Rahim, op cit, p 458, Prof al-Ghalib, op cit, p 209, Nur Muhammad Azami, *Hadith al-Tatta' wa Itihash*, (Bengali), Imdadiya Library, Dhaka, 1992, p 137

Yazid bin Abi Kabasha al-Saksaki (d. 97H./715)

Caliph Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik (96-99/714-717) recalled Muhammad bin Qasim from Sind and appointed in his place Yazid al-Saksaki.¹ He was a *Tabi'i* and received Hadith from Abu al-Darda and Shurahbil bin Aws, the companions of the Prophet²

With reference to *Tahzib al-Tahzib* of Hafiz Ibn Hajar, Dr. Ishaq stated, "His Ahadith occur in the *Sahih al-Bukhari*".³ This statement seems to be wrong and misinterpreted. Actually, Ibn Hajar said, "Ibn 'Asakir Said that he (Yazid al-Saksaki) had been mentioned in (the part of) *Jihad* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. I say that he has no transmission in it, the fact is that the transmission of Ibrahim al-Saksaki is available in it (Bukhari)."⁴ Dr. Ishaq has referred to *Kitab al-Jihad* of *Sahih al-Bukhari* also without mentioning the Hadith and its number⁵ Actually, Yazid al-Saksaki has been mentioned in the text of Hadith which has been transmitted by Ibrahim al-Saksaki not by Yazid al-Saksaki himself.⁶ Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that he was a trustworthy transmitter of Hadith and was not mentioned in *Sahih al-Bukhari* except in this place.⁷

Mufadhdhal bin al-Muhallab bin Abu Sufra (d.102H./721)

He came to Qandabil (part of Sind) from Khurasan in 102 H. Al-Mufadhdhal was a famous transmitter of Hadith. He was a *Tabi'i* and narrated Hadith on the authority of Nu'man bin Bashir a companion of the Prophet. His son Hajib, Thabit

¹ - Hafiz Ibn Hajar Asqalani, Fath al-Bari bi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit, Kitab al-Jihad, Vol 6, p 158, Nuzhat al-Khawahir, Urdu tr by Imam Khan Nawshahravi, Maqbul Academy, Lahore, 1965, Vol I, p 65, Dr Ishaq, op cit, pp 23-24, Nur Muhammad A'zami, op. cit, p 137

² - Tahzib al-Tahzib, op cit, Vol 6, p 218, Dr Ishaq, p 24

³ - Dr Ishaq p 24

⁴ - Tahzib al-Tahzib, Vol 6 p 218 "قلت: ليست له رواية عن صحيح البخاري. وقال ابن عساکر: له ذكر في الجهاد من صحيح البخاري. قلت: ليست له رواية عندهم وإنما فيه أن إبراهيم السكسكي..."

⁵ - Dr Ishaq, p 24, foot note no 6

⁶ - Sahih al-Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, Kitab al-Jihad, Hadith no 2996 "حدثنا إبراهيم أبو اسماعيل السكسكي قال سمعت أبا بردة واصطحب هو ويزيد بن أبي كبشة في سفر..."

⁷ - Fath al-Bari, Kitab al-Jihad, Vol 6, p 158 "وهو ثقة.. وليس له في البخاري ذكر الا في هذا الموضع."

al-Bunani (d.127H.) and Jarir bin Hazim narrated Hadith on the authority of al-Mufadhhal.¹

`Amar bin Muslim al-Bahili (d.123H./740)

`Amar bin Muslim was the brother of Qutaiba bin Muslim al-Bahili, the famous conqueror of Transoxania. He came to Sind as governor of Caliph `Umar bin `Abdul `Aziz (99-101H./717-19) and conducted some successful raids into India. During his tenure many kings including Jaisinha son of Raja Dahar, accepted Islam in response to an appeal made by the Caliph. Despite leading a soldier life he was a *Muhaddith*.² He has narrated the Hadith on the authority of Ya'la bin `Ubaid while Abu al-Tahir has narrated from him.³

Abu Musa Israil bin Musa al-Basri (155H./771)

He was a native of Basra. Perhaps as a trader he came to Sind and set up his residence there. He was a reliable transmitter of Hadith on the authority of Hasan al-Basri (d.110H.), Abu Hazim al-Ashja'i and others. Imam Bukhari (d.256H./870) quotes one of Abu Musa's traditions in as many as four different places of his *Sahih*.⁴

Rabi' bin Sabih al-Basri (d.160H./776)

He was one of the pioneers in the field of collecting and codifying the Hadiths in the second century A.H., and early authors of Hadith. He came to India in 160H./776 along with a naval squadron during the caliphate of al-Mahdi (158-69H./775-85). He studied Hadith under Hasan al-Basri (d.110), Thabit al-Bunani (d.127H.), Hamid al-Tawil (142H.) etc.⁵

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 26, Nur Muhammad A'zami, op cit , p 137

² - Ibid, p 26, Al-Ghalib, op cit , p 210

³ - Ibn Hajar, Tahzib al-Tahzib, op cit , Vol 4, p 365

⁴ - Dr Ishaq, pp 25-26, Abdur Rahim, p 459, Nur Muhammad A'zami, p 137, Al - Ghalib, pp 209-10

⁵ - Ibid, pp 26-28, `Abdur Rahim, p 459, Al- Ghalib, pp 210-11

Abu Ma'shar Najih Sindhi (d. 170H./786)

He was brought to the 'Arab as a war prisoner and studied Hadith under Muhammad bin Ka'ab al-Qurazi, Nafi' Maula Ibn 'Umar, Sa'eed al-Maqburi, Muhammad bin al-Munkadir and Hisham bin 'Uruwah whereas his son Muhammad, Yazid bin Harun, Muhammad al-Waqidi, Ishaq al-Tabba' and Muhammad bin Bakkar have transmitted the Hadith from him. He was well-versed in *al-Maghazi*.¹

Ahmad bin Abdullah al-Debali (d. 343H./954)

A famous *Muhaddith* of his times. He travelled many countries for obtaining the knowledge of Hadith and studied it under the *Muhaddithin* of Makka, Basra, Baghdad, Egypt, Beirut, Harran, Baghdad, Tustar and Nisapur and died in Nisapur.²

Ibrahim bin Muhammad Abu Ja'far al-Debali (d.345H./956)

He narrated the Hadith on the authority of Musa bin Harun al-Bazzaz (d. 294H.), Hafiz of Baghdad and Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Saigh (d. 291H.) a *Muhaddith* of Makka.³

Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Debali (d.346H./957)

He travelled many countries like Basra, Baghdad etc. and studied the *Hadith* under the famous *Muhaddithin* of those countries. Hakim Abu 'Abdullah Nisapuri (d.405H.) was one of his students of Hadith.⁴

Khalaf bin Muhammad al-Debali (d.360H./971)

He studied the Hadith under 'Ali bin Musa al-Debali, then went to Baghdad and transmit the Hadith there. Abul Husain bin al-Jundi (d.396 H.) was his student.⁵

¹ - Al-'Iqd al-Thamin, op cit, pp 291-92, Rijal al-Sind wal-Hind, op cit, pp 1/249-52, Sulatman Nadwi, Arab wa Hind ke Ta alluqat, Matba' Ma'arif, Azamgarh, 1979, p 303, Nur Muhammad A'zami, op cit, p 138

² - Dr Ishaq, op cit, pp 32- 34, Prof al-Ghalib, op cit, p 213- 14, Nur Muhammad A'zami, p 138

³ - Ibid, pp 32, Al-Ghalib, p 215, A zami, p 138

⁴ - Ibid, p 34, Al-Ghalib, pp 214- 15, A'zami, p 138

⁵ - Ibid, p 34- 35, Al-Ghalib, p 215

Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Harun al-Debali (d.370H./981)

His surname was Abu Bakr and after his migration to Rayy became famous as al-Razi. Afterwards he settled permanently at Harbiya in the west of Baghdad. He studied Hadith under Ja'far bin Muhammad al-Faryabi (d.301H.) and also under Ahmad bin Sharik of Kufa. Besides being a transmitter of Hadith, he was well-versed in the science of *al-Qira'at*. Ahmad bin 'Ali al-Bada (d.420), Abu 'Ali bin Duma (d.431) and Qadhi Abul 'Ala al-Wasiti were his pupils.¹

Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Salih al-Mansuri²

He studied Hadith in Iran under the famous *Muhaddith* Abul 'Abbas al-Athram (d.336H.) and at Basra under Ahmad al-Hizzani called Abu Rawaq (d.336H.). When he visited Bukhara Al-Hakim Abu 'Abdullah Nisapuri (d.405H.) studied Hadith under him.³ Towards the seventies of the fourth century when Al-Maqdisi visited Mansura saw that almost citizens were *Ashab al-Hadith* and its Judge (*Qadhi*) was Abu Muhammad al-Mansuri a leading scholar of the school of Dawud al-Zahiri (d.270H./884). He used to teach and compiled several good books.⁴

Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Mansuri (d.380H./990)

He studied Hadith in Persia and Basra under Abul 'Abbas al-Athram (d.336H.) and others. He was also an Imam of the *Zahirite* school and was a *Shaykh* of Al-Hakim Nisapuri (d.405H.).⁵

¹ - Dr. Ishaq, op cit , p 35, Prof al- Ghalib, op cit , p 213

² - Mansura Now Karachi It was named Mansura according to the name of Mansur bin Jamhur, the Governor of Bani Umaiyah (Abul Hasan 'Ali al-Mas'udi, Muruj al-Zahab, Al-Matba' al-Bahiyah Bahiyah al-Misriyah, Cairo, 1346H, p 105

³ - Dr Ishaq, p 38, Al- Ghalib, p 217

⁴ - Abu 'Abdullah al-Maqdisi, Ahsan al-Taqasim, ed M J DE Goeje, London, 1967, p 481, " أكثرهم أصحاب حديث و رأيت القاضي أبا محمد المنصوري داوديا اماما في مذهبه و له تريس و تصانيف قد صنف كتباً عدة حسنة "

⁵ - Dr. Ishaq, p 39, Prof. al- Ghalib, p 217

Al- Hasan bin Hamid al- Debalı (d 407H /1016)

He went abroad as a trader and established himself in Baghdad He studied Hadith under Ali bin Muhammad al-Mawsili (d 359), Muhammad al-Naqqash (d 351H) and Abu Ali al-'Iumari(d 360H) He delivered lectures on Hadith in Damascus and Egypt also He died in Egypt ¹

Abu Muhammad Ja'far bin al- Khatab al- Qusdari ²(d.450H /1058)

He studied Hadith under Abdus Samad bin Muhammad al-Asimi He was a *I'raqi* and *Sufi* Abul Futeh Abdul Ghafir al-Kashghari (d 474H), the *Hafiz* transmitted Hadith on his authority ³

Sibawaihi bin Isma'il bin Dawud al- Qusdari (d.463H./1070)

He studied the Hadith under Al- As Abul Qasim 'Ali al- Husaini, Yahya bin Ibrahim al-Mak'hul and Raja bin Abdul Wahid al- Ispahani He migrated to Makka where he lectured on Hadith The *Hafiz* Abul Fityan 'Amar al- Rauwası Dihistani al- Jurjani narrated *Hadith* on his authority ⁴

Towards the second half of the fourth century , the principalities of Multan and Mansura were usurped by the *Isma'ilite Shi'ites* ⁵ This was not a merely a political change, it had a far reaching effect on the life and faith of the *Sunnites* of Sind and Multan Bent on destroying not only the structure of the states of the *Sunnites*, but also their religion and culture, the *Isma'ilites* left no stone unturned to attain their objective Naturally, therefore, the study of Hadith, the fountain- head of the religious laws of *Sunnis*, received a great setback Since then these territories did not and, as a matter of fact, could not send any of her young

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 35-36, Prof al-Ghalib, op cit , p 216

² - Qusdar Baluchistan

³ - Dr Ishaq , p 41, Al-Ghalib, pp 218- 19

⁴ - Ibid, p 41, Al-Ghalib, p 219

⁵ - Sulaiman Nadwi, op cit , pp 316-17, Dr Ishaq, p 42, Al- Thaqafa al-Isamiyah fil-Hind, op cit , pp 213-15, Al-Ghalib, p 223, Muhammad al-Husain al- Muzaffari, Tarikh al- Shi'ah, Matba at al-Zahra, Najaf, n d , pp 232-34

learners to study Hadith abroad Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi (388- 421H /998- 1030) a good *Sunni* succeed in setting up his rule after having overthrown their Government and driven them out of the territory ¹

¹ - Hakim Abdul Hai, Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit , pp 212-18, Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 42-43, Prof al-Ghalib, op cit , p 223

Section II-2nd Stage : From the Begining of Ghaznavids Expedition (388-582H./998-1186) to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and 'Abdul Haq Dihlawi.

Regarding this long period Hakim Abdul Hai said, "After the Arab domination over Sind came to an end, Gaznavid and Ghurid Sultans established their hold (602-700H /1205-1300) over that province, there was then an inflow of scholars from Khurasan and Transoxania causing a decline in the study of Hadith which gradually became almost extinct Poetry, astrology and mathematics among general subjects and *fiqh* and *usul* among Islamic branches of learning gained popularity among the people This situation continued for long time and ultimately Greek philosophy became the main pursuit of Indian scholars Indifference to Quranic exegesis and Hadith became common except a little part which directly connected with their *fiqh* It was customary, in those days, to leaf through *Mushariq al- Anwar* of Imam al- Saghani(d 650H /1252), for making the grade as a scholar of Hadith If any one desired to go in for further studies in the subject, he deemed it sufficient to go through Imam Baghawī s(d 510H /1117) *Masabih al-Sunnah* or *Mishkat al-Masabih* Any one who had studied these books was taken for a scholar of *Hadith* This was because the people were ignorant of the worth and merit of the Hadith They were neither pursuing this learning, nor reading it not encouraging to it, and not feeling attraction to this knowledge They neither knew the names of books of this branch nor the scholars of it A few scholars used to read the *Mishkat* only not any other books, that was also only for obtaining blessings neither for understanding the Hadith nor for practice according to it They valued the study of *fiqh* as a matter of convention and not for delving deep into its issues except some of them This gave an occasion to compilations of juristic opinions of the earlier juris- consults with little attention being given to the well-defined commands and injunctions of the Quran Nobody ever bothered to

further examine or reconcile such juristic opinions with the Quran and the Hadith¹ thus the revival of the study of Hadith in India was delayed until the rise, in the ninth century, of the Bahmanis and the Muzaffar Shahis in the Deccan and Gujrat respectively. In the meantime flickering light of Sunnah was visible in Northern India with the advent of the scholars of Central Asia ever since the Muslim conquest began to take shape in that region²

The renowned Muhaddiths of this period were as mentioned below:

Al- Hasan bin Hamid al-Debali (d 407H./1016)

He went abroad as a trader and established himself in Baghdad. He studied Hadith under Muhammad bin Sa'eed al-Mawasilī (d 359H.), Muhammad al-Naqqash (d 351H.) and Abu Ali al-Tumari (d 360). He delivered lectures on Hadith in Damascus and Egypt and died in Egypt³

Shaikh Muhammad Isma'il Lahori (d 448H /1057)

A highly versed in Hadith and *Tafsir* and eminent saint came to Lahore from Bukhara and distinguished himself as the first Muslim missionary to preach the faith of Islam in the city of Lahore⁴

Abu Muhammad Ja'far bin al-Khattab al-Qusdari (d 450H /1059)⁵

He studied Hadith under Abdus Samad bin Muhammad al-Asimi. He was a reliable transmitter of Hadith as well as a *faqih* and *sufi*. Abul Futuh Abdul Ghafir al-Kashghari, Hafiz (d 474) transmitted Hadith on his authority⁶

¹ - Al-Thaqafa al-Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit, pp 135-36

² - Dr Muhammad Ishaq, op cit, p 44

³ - Ibid, pp 35-36 Prof al-Ghalib, op cit, p 216

⁴ - Ibid, p 45-46, Al-Ghalib, p 224

⁵ - Qusdar Baluchistan

⁶ - Dr Ishaq, p 41, Al-Ghalib, pp 218-19

Sibawaihi bin Isma'il bin Dawud al-Qusdari (d.463H./1072)

He studied Hadith under Abul As Abul Qasim al-Husaini and Abdul Wahid al-Ispahani. He migrated to Makka and where he lectured on Hadith. The Hafiz Abul Fitiyan 'Amar al-Rawasi Dihistani narrated Hadith on his authority.¹

Abul Hasan 'Ali bin 'Umar Lahori (d. 529H./1138)

He was at once a *Muhaddith*, poet and litterateur. He studied Hadith under Abul Muzaffar al-Sa'eedi, the *Hafiz*. His fame as a *Muhaddith* as far as Baghdad. As result, Abul Fadhl Muhammad bin Nasir al-Sulami al-Baghdadi (d.467H./550) received Hadith from him.²

Abul Futuh Abdus Samad Lahori (d.550H./1158)

He studied Hadith under Abul Hasan Lahori. When he lectured on Hadith in Samarqand, the famous *Muhaddith* al-Sam'ani heard it from him.³

Hasan bin Muhammad bin Hasan al-Saghani Lahori (d.650H./1252)

A world-renowned *Muhaddith* in his period. He studied Hadith under the famous *Muhaddithin* of India, Makka, Yemen and Baghdad. He finally settled down in Baghdad and enjoyed patronage from the 'Abbasid Caliphs. He was appointed Ambassador of Baghdad to Delhi twice in the times of Caliph al-Nasir and al-Mustansir during the periods (617- 624/1220-1227) and 624- 637/1227-1240) for twenty long years.⁴ His famous books on Hadith are *Mashariq al-Anwar*⁵ and *Misbah al-Duja*, *Al-Shahms al-Munira*,⁶ *Kashf al-Hyab*, *Sharh al-Bukhari*, *Durr al-*

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit, p 41, Prof al-Ghalib, op cit, pp 218-19

² - Ibid, p 47, Al- Ghalib, pp 224-25

³ - Ibid, p 47

⁴ - Rijal al- Sind wal- Hind, op cit, pp 92-94 Dr Ishaq, pp 218-19

⁵ - *Mashariq al-Anwar* This book comprises 2,253 selected Hadith from the Sahih al-Bukhari and Muslim. This book grew more and more popular, so that by the 8th century journeys were undertaken and classes were held for its study (Dr Ishaq, p 228, 230). This book was the syllabus of Hadith in Indian educational institutes (Al-Thaqafa al-Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit, p 11, 15, 142)

⁶ - Ibid, p 143, Rijal al- Sind, p 93, Dr Ishaq, p 230

Sihaba fi Mawadhi` Wafayat al-Sahabah, Kitab al-Dhu`afa wa al-Matrukin and *Mukhtasar al-Wafayat*.¹

In addition to these works Al-Saghani edited the *Sahih al-Bukhari*. This edition of the *Sahih al-Bukhari* had been accepted by all countries.² He died in Baghdad.³

Bahauddin Zakariya Multani (d.666- 1267)

He was a saint and was the disciple of famous saint Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (d.632H.). He received his education in Bukhara and Khurasan then went to Hijaz and studied Hadith five years under the *Muhaddithin* of Madina and became specialist in it. He died at Multan.⁴

Qadhi Minhaj al-Siraj al-Juzjani (d.668H./1270)

His father was a *qadhi* of India during the rule of sultan Muhammad Ghuri (570-602H./1175-1205). Qadhi Minhaj also was a *qadhi* and principal of Firoz college of Uch and Nasiriya college of Delhi. He stayed in Lakhnawati in Bengal for two years. He quoted in his *Tabaqat-ı-Nasiri* from the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud which suggests that he studied this kind of high ranked books of *Hadith*.⁵

Kamaluddin Zahid (d.684H./1285)

He studied Hadith especially the *Mashariq al-Anwar* under Burhanuddin Mahmud (d.687H.) and distinguished himself as a teacher of Hadith. Famous saint Shaikh Nizamuddin Awlia (d.725H./1325) studied Hadith under him.⁶

¹ - Rijal al-Sind, op. cit , p 93, Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 230

² - Dr Ishaq, pp 213

³ - Rijal al-Sind, p 94, Dr Ishaq, p 220 Hafiz Ibn Hajar `Asqalani has referred to the copy of al-Saghani in many places of his Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari As he mentioned *وفي نسخة الصغاني: "حدثنا عبيد الله بن أنس..."* (Fath al-Bari, Kitab al-Eidayn, Bab al-Akl Yaum al-Fitr Qabl al-Khuruuj, op cit ,Vol 2,p 517, "حتى ذكرت", (Ibid, Kitab al-Jihad, Bab man Takallama bil-Faresiyah, Vol 6, pp 213-14

⁴ - Dr Ishaq, p 51

⁵ - Dr Ishaq, pp 51-52

⁶ - Ibid, p 53, Nur Muhammad A`zami, op cit , p 141

Burhanuddin Mahmud Balkhi (d.687H /1288)

He studied Hadith under Shaikh Hasan al-Saghani(d 650H) and stayed in Delhi during the reign of Sultan Ghiyathuddin Balban (664-86H /1266-87) and initiated the study of *Mashariq al-Anwar* of al-Saghani in Delhi ¹

Radhiuddin Badayuni (d.700H/1300)

He was well-versed in Hadith and was a *qadhi* of Ku'il (Aligarh) He went to Makka and Baghdad for higher study in Hadith and returned to India and died at Lahore ²

Sharfuddin Abu Tawama Bukhri (d.700H/1300)

He migrated from Bukhara to Delhi early in the 7th century of Hijrah During the reign of Sultan Iltutmish (607-33H /1210-36) he came over to Sonargaon (Dhaka) in Bengal ³ According to another report Sultan Ghiyathuddin Balban(664-686H /1266-1287) compelled him to leave Delhi ⁴ Abu Tawama was the teacher of Hadith of great celebrity and under him Sonargaon early developed into a centre of Hadith study in Bengal The famous saint-*Muhaddith* Makhdum Sharfuddin Yahya Maniri (d 782H) was his student ⁵ He was a non-conventionalist *Muhaddith* He brought the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* to India from another country and used to deliver lecture on them He wrote an explanation of *Sahih al-Bukhari* He died at Sonargaon ⁶

Shaikh Nizamuddin Awlia Badayuni(d.725H./1325)

The famous saint Shaikh Nizamuddin in his early life studied Arabic literature, *fiqh* and *usul* He was invited by the Government for the post of *qadhi*,

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 52

²-Ibid, p 53

³ - Ibid- p 53

⁴ - Prof al-Ghalib, p 235

⁵ - Dr Ishaq, pp 53-54

⁶ - Al-Ghalib, pp 235-36

but the guidance of his spiritual guide Shaikh Farīduddīn Ganj-i-Shakar (d.666H) prevented him to take it. Then he studied the Hadith under Shaikh Kamaluddin Zahid (d.684H./1285) and memorized the *Mushariq al-Anwar* of al-Saghani. Further the study of Hadith so widened his outlook on life that he gave up the rigid conventionalism (*taqlid*) and fell in line of *Muhaddithin* and used to give the verdict on the legality of *qira'at al-Fatiha* behind the *Imam*. He created for the people of his *Khanqa* interest in Hadith with the result there grew up among his disciples and their successors a number of scholars who had acquired proficiency in the subject.¹ There was an argumentation (*munazarah*) between him and the rigid conventionalist *'ulama* before the Sultan Ghiyathuddin Tughlaq regarding the *Hadith* and some prevailing *fatwas* of *fiqh*.²

The mentionable *Muhaddithin* who belonged to the school of Shaikh Nizamuddin Awlia were Shamsuddin Muhammad bin Yahya Awadi (d.747H./1346), the teacher of the royal institute of Delhi in the period of Sultan 'Alauddin Khalji and the first Indian *Muhaddith* who wrote a commentary on the *Mashariq al-Anwar*, Fakhruddin al-Jarrad al-Samanuwi (d.748H./1347), Muhiuddin bin Jalaluddin al-Kashani (d.719H./1319), Nizamuddin 'Allami al-Zafarabadi (d.735H./1334), Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Dihli (d.757H./1356), Sayid Muhammad Gisu Daraz (d.825H./1422), the compiler of *Sharh Mashariq al-Anwar*, *Tarjuma-i-Mashariq al-Anwar* (Persian), *Kitab al-Arba'een* etc., Shaikh Wajihuddin, the author of *Miftah al-Jinan*, Qadhi Shihabuddin Dawlatabadi (d.849H./1445) and Shamsuddin al-Khawajigi (d.878H./1473).³

Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maniri.(d.782H./1381)

A famous saint and renowned *Muhaddith* of Manir of Bihar.⁴ He studied Hadith for a long time under the great *Muhaddith* of Sonargaon Shaikh

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit, pp 56-59, Dr al-Ghalib, op cit, pp 233-34

² - The Munazara has been mentioned earlier, Chapter III, Section IV, p 137

³ - Dr Ishaq, pp 59-66-61, Nur Muhammad Azami, op cit, pp 141-43

⁴ - A village situated at sixty miles distance from present Bihar Sharif in Patna

Sharfuddin Abu Tawama (d 700H/1300) He collected many authentic books of Hadith from different places He was the first *Muhaddith* who used to teach *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* along with other books of Hadith in Bihar

The famous *Muhaddithin* who belonged to his institution were Shaikh Muzaffar al-Balkhi (d 786H/1384), the commentator on the *Mashariq al-Anwar*, Husain bin Mu'izz Bihari (d 844H/1441) and Ahmad Langar-i-Dariya Bihari (d 891H/1484), the *Haftiz* of *Masabih al-Sunnah* of Imam al-Baghawi (d 510H/1117)¹

Sayid 'Ali bin Shihab al-Hamadani (d.786H./1384)

The Hadith was first brought to Kashmir by him He was a saint - *Muhaddith* and entered the Kashmir territory with his seven hundred followers His dissertations related with Hadith *Al-Sab'in fi Fadha'il Amir al-Muminin* and *Arba'in Amiriyah*²

Badruddin Muhammad al-Damamini (d.827H./1424)

He was born in Alexandria and studied under his grand father Al-Baha al-Damamini, his cousin, the famous 'Allama Ibn Khaldun (d 808H) and some other teachers in Cairo and Makka He was the professor of Jami' al-Azhar and Jami Zabid in Yemen He migrated to Gujrat in 820H/1417 during the reign of Sultan Ahmad bin Muzaffar Shah (814-43H/1413-43) Latter on he went to Deccan during the times of Firoz Shah Bahmani (800-825H/1397-1422) and gained the patronage of this dynasty and taught the Hadith there with other branches of learning His books on Hadith *Masabih al-Jami'*, *al-Fath al-Rabbani* and *Ta'liq al-Masabih* He died in Gulbarga, the capital of the Bahmani Sultans³

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 69- 71, Prof al-Ghalib op cit , p 236

² - Ibid, p 72, Prof al-Ghalib, p 273

³ - Dr Ishaq, pp 87- 44, Nur Muhammad Azami, op cit , p 143

Abul Futuh Nuruddin Shirazi

He received education from Majduddin Firozabadi (d.817H), Shamsuddin al-Jazari(d.833H.) and Sayid Sharif al- Jurjani (d 822H) and studied *Sahih al- Bukhari* from Baba Yusuf al-Harawi. He came to Gujrat probably during the period of Ahmad Shah Bahmani 814-844H /1211-43) and taught the Hadith there ¹

Ibn Fahd Yahya bin Abdur Rahman al- Hashimi (d.843H./1439)

He acquired the education of Hadith from Hafiz Ibn Hajar Asqalani (d.852H./1449) and other contemporary scholars of Egypt, Makka and Madina and obtained *Ijazah* (certificate) from Hafiz Zainuddin al- Iraqi(d.806H.) and Hafiz Nuruddin al-Haithami(d.807). He migrated to India and reached Gulbarga of Deccan on the way of Bombay during the period of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. ²

Khawaja `Imaduddin Mahmud Gawan (d.886H./1481)

He was born at Gilan of Caspian and received higher education in Hadith from Hafiz Ibn Hajar `Asqalani and Zainuddin al- Zarakshi(d.845H.) He came to Deccan at the time of `Alauddin Shah Bahmani (838- 62H./1434- 1458) and became a minister. He established a college and made arrangement for the teaching of Hadith in the same. He collected for his personal library 3000 volumes or according to other report 35,000 volumes. He was killed by Mahmud Shah Bahmani II (867- 87H./1463- 82).³

Abul Fath bin al-Radhi (d.886H./1481)

He was born at Makka and studied Hadith under Imam Abdur Rahman al-Sakhawi (d.902H.) and came to Mandu the capital of Malwa and stayed thirteen years and taught the Hadith, then returned back to Makka and died there.⁴

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 88-89

² - Ibid , pp 89- 90, Nur Muhammad A`zami, p 144

³ - Ibid, pp 90- 91, A`zami, p 144

⁴ - Ibid , pp 91- 92, A`zami p 144

‘Umar bin Muhammad al- Dimashqi (d.900H./1494)

He studied Hadith in Cairo under Sarah bint Jama‘ah (d 455H) and at Makka under Imam al-Sakhawī and came to Cambay of India and permanently settled there.¹

‘Abdul ‘Aziz bin Muhammad al- Tusi (d. 910H./1504)

He studied Hadith under Muhammad al- Abharī a pupil of Hafiz Ibn Hajar ‘Asqalani and Mir Asiluddin Shirazi (d. 883) and Imam al- Sakhawi and came to Deccan then taught the Hadith there.²

Abu Bakr bin Muhammad al- Bahruji (d.915H./1509)

He was a renowned *Muhaddith* of Broach in Gujrat. His works on Hadith *Tarjuma-i Hisn Hasin* in Persian and *‘Ayn al- Wafa Tarjuma-t- Shifa* also in Persian.³

Wajihuddin Muhammad (919H./1513)

He was born in Egypt and studied under his father who had the privilege of reading with Ibn Hajar ‘Asqalani and under Imam al- Sakhawi at Makka and went to Yemen and lectured on Hadith at the college of Zayla’ then came to Gujrat and opened a Hadith class there. He brought the *Fath al- Bari*, the celebrated commentary of *Sahih al-Bukhari* of Hafiz Ibn Hajar ‘Asqalani to Gujrat. In recognition of his scholarship of Hadith Sultan Mahmud I (863- 917H./1458- 1511) gave him the title of *Malik al- Muhaddithin* (the King of Hadith- Scholars). He died at Ahmadabad.⁴

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 92- 93, Nur Muhammad A`zmai, p 144

² - Ibid, p 93, Azami, pp 144-45

³ - Ibid, p 120, A`zami, p 145

⁴ - Ibid, pp 93- 94, A`zami, p 145

Husain bin Abdullah al- Kirmani (d. 930H./1523)

He was a native of Makka and studied Hadith under Imam al- Sakhawi and came to Dabhel and resided there for about four years and struggled in diffusion of Hadith literature and returned back to Makka.¹

Jamaluddin Muhammad bin `Umar al- Hadhrami (d. 930H./1524)

He was born at Hadhramaut and completed his study in Hadith under Imam al-Sakhawi at Makka and came to Gujrat and appointed the teacher of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II and taught him Hadith. He prepared a compendium of Imam al- Munziri's (d.656H) *Al-Targhib wal-Tarhib* under the title *Al- Taqrib wal- Tahzib* ²

Rafi`uddin al- Safawi (d. 954H./1547)

He was a descent of Safawi Royal family of Persia He studied under Jalaluddin Dawani(d.928).As towards the close of this century (9th) the life and religion of the *Sunnis* in Persia were daily being endangered by the *Shi`as* Then the father of Rafi`uddin migrated to *Haramain*. Rafi`uddin studied the Hadith under Imam al- Sakhawi at Makka and came to Gujrat , thence went to Agra during the reign the of Sultan Sikandar Ludi (894-923H /1488-1515). The Sultan had a keen interest in Hadith and transcribed the *Sahih Muslim* by his order He built an institution for the teaching of Hadith where Shaikh Rafi`uddin taught the Hadith for about thirty four years.³

Mir Saiyid `Abdul Awal (d.968H./1560)

He was a native of Deccan. After completing the study there he went to *Hijaz* and studied Hadith several years there and return to Ahmadabad, then went

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 95, Nur Muhammad A zami, op cit , p 145

² - Ibid, pp 95- 96, A`zami, p 145

³ - Ibid, pp 96- 97, A`zami, p 145

to Delhi. His works on Hadith are *Faidh al-Bari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muntakhab li Kitab -i- Sifr al-Sa'adah* of Al-Firozabadi (d 817H) ¹

Shaikh Abdul Malik Gujrati (d.970H./1562)

He studied Hadith under his brother Qutbuddin who was the disciple of al-Sakhawi and memorized the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and devoted himself to teach the Hadith ²

Mir Murtadha Sharif al-Jurjani (d.974H./1566)

He was a grandson of Saiyid Sharif al-Jurjani (d 816H) and studied Hadith under Ibn Hajar al-Haythami (d 974H /1567) at Makka and came to Deccan thence to Akbarabad (Agra) and obtained high position. He had *Shi'a* proclivities ³

`Ali Muttaqi Burhanpuri (d.975H./1568)

He received the education from several scholars of India, then went to Makka and studied Hadith under Muhammad al-Sakhawi, Abul Hasan al-Bakri (d 952H) and Ibn Hajar Makki and became an authority on the subject. His works on Hadith are *Manhaj al-'Ummal fi Sunan al-Aqwal wa al-Af'al*, *Ikmal Manhaj al-'Ummal*, *Ghayatal-'Ummal*, *Al-Mustadrak*, *Kanzal-'Ummal*, *Muntakhab Kanz al-'Ummal*, *Sharh Shamail al-Nabi*, *Al-Burhan fi 'Alamat Mahdi Akhir al-Zaman*, *Jawami' al-Kalim fil-Mawa'iz wal-Hikam* and *Al-Manhaj al-Tamam fi Tabwib al-Hikam*. ⁴

Khawaja Mubarak bin Makhdum al-'Arrajani (d.981H./1573)

He was born at Bak'hara in Banaras and studied Hadith under many Indian scholars and rearranged the *Musabih al-Sunnah* Imam al-Baghawi and

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit, pp 121-22

² - Ibid, p 124, A'zami, op cit, pp 145-46

³ - Ibid, p 99, A zami, p 146

⁴ - Ibid, pp 232- 34, Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit, p 136, A zami, p 146

Mashariq al-Anwar of Shaikh *al-Saghani* according to subject matters under the title *Madariy al-Akhbar*¹

Shaikh Nizamuddin Bhikari al-Kakuri (d.981H./1573)

He was born at Kakur in Lucknow and studied Hadith under Ibrahim bin Muhammad al-Baghdadi and Dhiauddin al-Madani² He wrote a book on *Usul al-Hadith* named *Jami` al-Usul*³

Mir Kalan Muhaddith Muhammad Sa'id Akbrabadi (d.983H./1575)

He was born in Khurasan and studied Hadith under the renowned *Muhaddithin* of Shiraj and went to Makka and used to teach the Hadith there and obtained the title of *Shaikh al-Haram al-Makki* Famous *Muhaddith* Mulla `Ali al-Qari(d 1014H) and Gadhanfar al-Nahrawali (d 1000H) read *Mishkat al-Masabih* under him He came to Akbarabad in about (981H/1573) and was appointed the tutor of Prince Salim the son of the King Akbar He died at Agra⁴

Jamaluddin Muhammad bin Tahir Pattani (d.986H./1578)

He was born at Pattan in Gujrat and received education from the scholars of Gujrat then went to Makka and studied Hadith under Shaikh `Ali Muttaqi, Ibn Hajar al-Haythami, Abul Hasan al-Bakri and Mufti Qutbuddin al-Nahrwali and returned to Gujrat and devoted himself in teaching the Hadith and writing on it His works on Hadith are *Al-Mughni fi Dhabt al-Rijal*, *Tazkirat al-Maudhu`at*, *Qanun al-Maudhu`at wa al-Dhu`afa*, *Asma` al-Rijal* and *Majma` Bihar al-Anwar*⁵

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 122-23, A zami, op cit , p 136

² - They arrived in India from Arabian countries, (Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil- Hind, op cit , p 136)

³ - Dr Ishaq, pp 123- 24, A zami, p 136

⁴ - Dr Ishaq, pp 99-100, A zami , p 146

⁵ - Ibid, pp 124- 29, Al- Thaqafah al- Islamiyah, op cit, p 137, A zami, p 146- 47

Abdul Mu'ti al-Hadhrami (d 989H /1581)

He was born at Makka and studied Hadith under Shaikh Zainuddin Zakariya al-Ansari (d 925H) at Cairo and migrated to India and settled in Ahmadabad and taught the *Hadith* especially the *Sahih al- Bukhari* He compiled a book on *Hadith* named *Kitab Asma Rijal al- Bukhari* ¹

Shaikh Abdullah Ansari Sultanpuri (d 990H /1582)

He was famous as Makhdum al- Mulk He was a reformist scholar, so he had been punished by the King Akbar (963-1014H /1556-1605) His works on Hadith are *Sharh Shamail al- Nabi* and *Ismat al- Ambiya* ²

Shaikh `Abd al-Nabi Ganguhi (d. 990H./1582)

He studied Hadith under Ibn Hajar al-Haythami at Makka He was a teacher of the King Akbar and appointed *Sadr al- Sudur* by him but lastly was punished by him and died His works on Hadith are *Sunan al- Huda fi Mutaba`at al- Mustafa* and *Wazaif al-Yaum wa al- Lailah al- Nabawiyah* ³

Shaikh Abdullah al- `Aidarusi (d.990H /1582)

He was born in Hadhramaut and studied Hadith under Ibn Hajar al-Haythami(d 974H) at Makka and migrated to Ahmadabad and made a centre for Islamic learning there Along with other books he used to teach *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Ihya `Ulum al-Din* of Imam al- Ghazali ⁴

Shihabuddin al- `Abbasi (d.992H./1584)

He was born in Egypt and studied Hadith under Shaikh Zakariya al- Ansari and memorized *Al-`Umdah fil-Hadith* of Al-Maqdisi and *Al-Arba`un* of Imam al-

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 97- 98, Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil-Hind , op cit p 136, A zami op cit p 147

² - Ibid, pp 129-30, A zami, p 147

³ - Ibid, pp 130-31, Al-Thaqafah al- Islamiyah, p 136, A zami, p 147

⁴ - Dr Ishaq, pp 98- 99, A zami, p 147

Nawawī(d 676H /1277) He migrated to Gujrat and devoted himself in teaching the Hadith there ¹

Abu al- Sa`adat Muhammad al- Fakihi (d.992H./1584)

He studied Hadith under *Shaikh* al- Haythamī and other as many as ninety teachers of Makka , Hadhramaut and Zabīd, then migrated to Ahmadabad and then Surat and taught the Hadith there and died at Surat ²

Shaikh Wajihuddin Gujrati (d. 998H./1590)

He studied under Shaikh `Imaduddin al-Tarīmī (d 941H) and Shaikh Ghawth Gawaliyari (d.979H) and established a *Madrasah* at Ahmadabad where he used to teach the Hadith His work on *Usul al-Hadith* is *Sharh Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar* a commentary on *Nuzhat al-Nazar* of Hafiz Ibn Hajar al-`Asqalani ³

Shaikh Tayib Sindi (d.999H./1590)

He was born in Sind and studied Hadith under `Abdul Awal Husainī (d 968H) at Ahmadabad and taught it along with *Sahih al- Bukhari* at Ilchpur and Burhanpur for a period of fifty years His work on Hadith is *Ta`liqat `ala Mishkat al- Masabih*.⁴

Shaikh Ya`qub bin Hasan al- Sarfi Kashmiri(d.1003H./1595)

He was born in Kashmir and went to Hijaz and studied Hadith at Makka under Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī and returned to Kashmir and taught the Hadith there His works on Hadith are *Sharh Sahih al- Bukhari*, *Risalah-ı Azkar* and *Maghazi al-Nabuwat* ⁵

¹ Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 97- 98, Al-Taqaḥ al- Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit , p 136, A zami,op cit, p 147

² - Al- Thaqfa al-Islamiyah, p 136, Dr Ishaq, p 99, A zami, p 147

³ - Dr Ishaq, p 132, A zami, p 147

⁴ - Ibid, p 129

⁵ - Dr Ishaq, pp 133- 34, Al-Thaqafah al-Islamiyah, p 136, A zami, p 148

Shaikh Tahir bin Yusuf Sindi Burhanpuri (d.1004H./1595)

He was born in Gujrat and studied under Shihabuddin Sindi, Abdul Awal Ahmadabadi and Ghawth Gawaliyari and died at Burhanpur. His works on Hadith are *Talkhis Sharh Asma al-Rjal al-Bukhari lil-Kirmani* and *Multaqat Jam al-Jawami` of Imam al-Siyuti* (d.911H./1505).¹

Haji Muhammad al-Kashmiri (d.1006H./1597)

He was born in Kashmir and went to Makka and studied Hadith under Ibn Hajar al-Haythami. His books on Hadith are *Sharh Shamail al-Nabi* of al-Tirmizi (d.279H./892) in Persian, *Sharh Mashariq al-Anwar* of al-Saghani in Persian, *Kitab Khulasat al-Jami` fi Jam` al-Hadith* and *Sharh Hissn Hasin* of al-Jazari.²

`Uthman bin Ishaq Sindi(d.1008H.1600)

He was a native of Buskan in Sind and educated in Gujrat under Wajihuddin Gujrati and Husain al-Baghdadi and appointed as a professor and *Mufti* in Mubarakpur by Muhammad Shah Mubarak (974-84H./1566-76) where he served for a period of seventeen years. His works on Hadith are *Ghayat al-Tawil li Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Al-`Aqidah al-Sunniyah*.³

Shaikh Munawwar bin Abdul Majid Lahori (d.1010H./1602)

He was a native of Lahore and studied under Ishaq Kaku (d.996H.), Sa'dullah Bani Israili(d.1000H.) and appointed *Sadr* of Malwa by the King Akbar but afterwards he was punished by him for his reformist activities and died. His works on Hadith are commentary on *Mashariq al-Anwar* of Al-Saghani and *Hissn Hasin* of Al-Jazari.⁴

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 132- 33, A`zami, op cit , p 148

² - Ibid, pp 134- 35, A`zami, 148

³ -Ibid, pp 135- 37, A`zami, p.148

⁴ - Ibid, p 137, Prof al-Ghalib, op cit , p 238, A`zami, pp 148- 49

‘Imaduddin Abd al- Nabi Shattari (d.1030H./1621)

He was a disciple of ‘Abdullah al-Sufi al- Shattari(d.1010) of Agra. His books on Hadith are *Zari‘at al- Najat fi Sharh al- Mishkat*, *Sharh Nukhbat al- Fikar*, *Sharh Hadith Al-Salatu Mi‘raj al-Muminin* and *Sharh Hadith Khir al- Asma ‘Abdullah wa ‘Abdur Rahman*.¹

Shaikh Muhiuddin ‘Abdul Qadir al-Hadhrami Ahmadabadi(d.1037H./1627)

He was born at Ahmadabad and studied under his father, Shaikh ‘Abdullah al-‘Aidarusi. He was a *Sufi* and *Muhaddith* and used to lecture on both subjects. His works on Hadith are *Al-Manh al-Bari bi Khatm Sahih al- Bukhari*, *Risalah fi Manaqib al- Bukhari* and *Al- Qawl al- Jami‘ fi al-‘Ilm al-Nafi’*.²

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 139- 40, Azami, op cit , p 149

² - Ibid, pp 138- 39, Azami, p 149

Section III-3rd Stage : Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1034H./1624) and 'Abdul Haq Dihlawi(d.1052H./1642) and their Schools.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (971-1034H./1564-1624)

The famous reformer and founder of Mujaddidi order Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid-i-Alf Thani was born at Sirhind in Punjab He received his early education from his father 'Abdullah Faruqi and studied Hadith and other subjects under Mulla Kamaluddin Kashmiri (d.1017H.), Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi(d.1003) and Qadhi Bahlul Badakhshi. In *Tasawuf* he was a disciple of Khawaja Baqi bi-Allah (d.1012H.). He was a greatest religious reformer in Indian sub-continent and for his vital role against *shirk*, *bid'ah* and state-corruptions he had been punished by contemporary ruler. He was a man of practice according to the Quran and Hadith and a socio- religious reformer rather than a classical teacher In spite of this, he used to teach different subjects like *fiqh*, *usul* and *Hadith* (*Mishkat and Sahih al-Bukhari*).¹

His famous book *Malfuzat* is enriched by the documents of the Quran and Hadith and their meanings. His emphasizing on the study of the Quran and Hadith led to make many *Muhaddithin* from his family and disciples Some of those *Muhaddithin* will be mentioned in the suitable places by the grace of Allah

Muhammad Siddiq bin Sharif (d.1040H./1630)

He was a notable *Muhaddith* and his works on Hadith are *Nujum al-Mishkat* a commentary on the *Mishkat al-Masabih* and *Sharh al-Zawajir* of Shaikh Ibn Hajar Makki.²

¹ - Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , Vol 5, p 44, "وكان يدرس في علوم شتى من الفقه و الأصول والحديث ... والمشكاة البخاري". Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 140- 41

² - Dr Ishaq, pp 163- 64, A`zami, op cit , p 151

Shaikh Abdul Haq bin Saifuddin Dihlawi (958-1052H./1551-1642)

He received education from his father Shaikh Saifuddin in Delhi then he went to Makkah and studied Hadith under Shaikh Abdul Wahhab al-Muttaqi Burhanpuri (d 975H), a famous disciple of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi at Makka for four years and returned back to India and struggled in compiling the books and teaching Hadith and other branches of Islamic learnings His works on Hadith are *Al-Tariq al-Qawim fi Sharh Sirat al-Mustaqim* a Persian commentary of *Sifr al-Sa'adah* of Firozabadi which also known as *Al-Sirat al-Mustaqim*, *Ashu'at al-Lum'at fi al-Mishkat* a Persian commentary on *Mishkat al-Masabih*, *Lum'at al-Lanqih fi Sharh Mishkat al-Masabih* an Arabic commentary on *Mishkat al-Masabih*, *Al-Ikmal fi Asma al-Rijal*, *Jami' al-Barakat Muntakhab Sharh al-Mishkat*, *Ma'habata bi al-Sunnah fi Avam al-Sanah*, *Al-Ahadith al-Arba'in fi Abwab 'Ulum al-Din*, *Tarjumat al-Ahadith al-Arba'in*, *Dastur Faidh al-Nur* and *Zikr Ijazat al-Hadith fi al-Qadim wa al-Hadith*.¹

Khawaja Haidar Patlu bin Firoz Kashmiri (d.1057H./1647)

He was born in Kashmir and studied Hadith under Baba Jawahir Nath Kashmiri (d 1020H) a disciple of Ibn Hajar al-Haythami then under Shaikh Abdul Haq Dihlawi and returned back to Kashmir and died there.²

Shaikh Sa'id bin Ahmad Sirhindi Khazinur Rahmat (d.1070H./1659)

He studied Hadith under his father *Shaikh* Mujaddid Alf Thani and also under 'Abdur Rahman al-Rumi and taught the Hadith for a long time in his father's *Khanqa*. He wrote a *Hashiya* (marginal note) on *Mishkat al-Masabih*.³

¹ - Nuzhat al-Khawarir, op cit, Vol 5, p 207-9, Dr Ishaq, op cit, pp 146-53, Azami op cit, pp 150-51

² - Dr Ishaq, p 159, Azami, p 151

³ - Dr Ishaq, pp 142-43, Prof al-Ghalib, op cit, p 239, Azami, p 151

Shaikh Nurul Haq bin Abdul Haq Dihlawi (d.1073H./1662)

He studied Hadith along with other branches of learnings from his father Shaikh Abdul Haq and became a renowned *Muhaddith*. His work on Hadith are *Laysir al-Qari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sharh Shamail al-Nabi* of Imam al-Tirmizi.¹

Khawaja Ma'sum 'Urwat al-Wosqa bin al-Mujaddid (d.1080H./1669)

He was the second son of the Mujaddid Alf Thani and received higher education from the contemporary *Muhaddithin* of *Haramain* and obtained the *Sanad* from them. He was the spiritual guide of Emperor Alamgir.²

Sayid Ja'far Badr-i-Alam (d.1085-1675)

He was born at Ahmadabad and studied under his father Shaikh Jalal Miaqsud-i-Alam (d.1059H.) a *Mansabdar* of Emperor Jahangir (1014-37H./1605-28) and became a scholar of Hadith. His work on Hadith is *Al-Faidh al-Tari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*.³

Baba Dawud Mishkati Kashmiri (d.1097H./1685)

He studied Hadith under Haidar Kashmiri (d.1057H./1674) and *Tasawuf* under Khawaja Khawand (d.1085H./1674), the two disciples of Shaikh Abdul Haq Dihlawi. He was a memorizer (*hafiz*) of entire *Mishkat al-Masabih*, therefore he was called *Mishkati*.⁴

Khawaja Saifuddin bin Shaikh Ma'sum Sirhindi (d.1098H./1686)

He studied Hadith under his father Shaikh Ma'sum and earned from him the title of *Muhyi al-Sunnah* means the Reviver of *Sunnah* by dint of his long life devotion to the cause of Hadith.⁵

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 154, A'zami, op cit , p 151

² - Ibid, pp 144-145, A'zami, p 151

³ - Ibid, pp 164- 65, A'zami, p 152

⁴ - Ibid, pp 159- 60, A'zami, p 152

⁵ - Ibid , p 144

Shaikh Ya'qub al-Bannani Lahori (d.1098H./1687)

He was born at Lahore and after completion the study he became a teacher of *Madrassah -i- Shahjahanviya* in Delhi and subsequently *Mir-i-`Adil* (chief justice) under the King Shah Jahan and *Nazir-i-Mahakim* (Inspector General of Courts) during the reign of the Emperor Awrangzib His works on Hadith are *Al-Khair al-Jari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Al-Mu'lim fi Sharh Sahih Muslim* and *Kitab al-Musajja fi al-Muwatta*¹

Abdul Majid Mahbub-i-'Alam bin Ja'far (d.1111H./1699)

He was born at Ahmadabad and studied Hadith under his father Ja'far Badr-i-'Alam and other *Shaikhs* of Gujrat His works on Hadith is *Zinat al-Nukat fi Sharh al-Mishkat*²

Shaikh Farrukh Shah bin Shaikh Sa'id al-Mujaddidi (d.1112H./1700)

He was a *Hafiz* (memorizer) of as many as seventy thousand Hadith with *Asanid* (chains)³

Khawja A'zam bin Saifuddin Sirhindi (d.1114H./1702)

He studied Hadith under his father Saifuddin and his uncle Farrukh Shah His work on Hadith is *Faidh al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*.⁴

Mir Sayid Mubarak Bilgrami (d.1115H./1703)

He was born at Bilgram of Hardoi and studied Hadith under Shaikh Nurul Haq bin Abdul Haq Dihlawi and taught the Hadith at Bilgram For his deep

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 165- 66, A zami, op cit , p 152

² - Ibid, p 165, A zami, 152

³ - Ibid, p 143, Prof al- Ghalib, op cit , p 239, A zami, 152

⁴ - Ibid p 145, Al- Ghalib, p 239, A zami, p 151

knowledge in Hadith he earned the title of *Qutb al-Muhaddithin* (Pivot of Hadith scholars).¹

Na'im bin Faydh Siddiqi (d.1120H./1708)

He studied under `Abdur Rashid Jawnpuri (d.1083H.), the famous author of the *Munazara-t-Rashidiyah* and died at Jawnpur. His work on Hadith is *Sharh Mishkat al-Masabih*.²

Shaikh Muhammad Akram bin `Abdur Rahman Sindi (d.1130H./1717)

He was born in Sind and studied Hadith under the contemporary renowned scholars of Hadith in India. His work on Hadith is *Im'an al-Nazar fi Tawdhih Nukhbat al-Fikar* of Hafiz Ibn Hajar `Asqalani.³

Mir `Abdul Jalil bin Ahmad Bilgrami (d.1138H./1725)

He was a maternal grandfather of famous scholar Azad Bilgrami (d 1200H./1785) and studied Hadith under the renowned *Muhaddithin* of India and became a Hadith scholar. He transcribed the copy of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and corrected it after comparing with other copies.⁴

Haji Muhammad Afdhal Sialkoti (d.1142H./1730)

He studied Hadith under `Abdul Ahad Sirhindi bin Khazinur Rahmat bin *Shaikh* Ahmad al-Mujaddid. He was a great scholar of science of Hadith. Shah Waliullah Dihlawi (d.1176H./1762) was awarded *Ijazat* for *Mishkat al-Masabih* and *Sihah Sittah* by him.⁵

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 160-61, A`zami, op cit , p 152

² - Ibid, pp 166- 167, A`zami, p 152

³ - Ibid, p 167, A zami, p 153

⁴ - Ibid, pp 161- 62, A`zami, p 153

⁵ - Al- Qaul al- Jamil, op cit , p 224

Shaikh Yahya bin Amin Ilahabadi(d.1144H./1731)

He studied Hadith under Shaikh Afdhal bin Abdur Rahman alias Khub Allah Ilahabadi (d.1124) His work on Hadith are *ʿAnat al-Qarī fī Sharh Thulathiyat al-Bukhari*, *Arbaʿin*, *Sharh Hadith Salat al-ʿAshih* and *Tarjuma-t-Wazāif al-Nabi*¹

Aminuddin bin Mahmud al-ʿUmari Jawmpuri(d.1145H./1732)

He was well-versed in different subjects along with Hadith His work on Hadith is *Mulakkhas of Ashiʿat al-Lumʿat* of Shaikh ʿAbdul Haq Dihlawi²

Abdus Samad Fakhruddin bin Nurullah bin Nurul Haq (d.1150H./1738)

He was the great-great-grandson of Shaikh Nur al-Haq and studied Hadith under his father Muhibbullah His works on Hadith are completion his father's commentary on *Sahih Muslim* in Persian entitled *Manbaʿ al-ʿIlm fī Sharh Sahih Muslim* and *Sharh-t-Hisn Husn* of Shaikh al-Jazari also in Persian³

Nuruddin bin Salih Ahmadabadi (d.1155H./1742)

He was an eminent teacher of Ahmadabad A *Madrasah* had been established by his endeavour at Ahmadabad named *Madrasah Hidayat Bakhsh* His work on Hadith is *Nur al-Qarī Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*.⁴

Shah Fakhir Zair Ilahabadi (d.1164H./1750)

He was born at Ilahabad and studied Hadith under Shaikh Hayat Sindi (d.1163) and returned back to India and taught the Hadith Being a *Muhaddith* he was a poet also He had been intimate with Shah Waliullah also His works relating to Hadith are *Qurrat al-ʿAyn fī Ithbat Ruffʿi al-Yadain*, *Risalah Najatniah*

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 167, A zami, op cit , p 153

² - Ibid, p 169, A zami, p 153

³ - Dr Ishaq, pp 158- 59, A zami, p 153

⁴ - Ibid, pp 169- 70, A zami, p 153

*dar`Aqaid-i-Hadithiyah, Nazm`Ibarat-i-Sifr al-Sa`adah and dar Ta`rif Mathnawi`Ilm Hadith.*¹

Shaikhul Islam bin Fakhruddin(d.1180H./1768)

He studied Hadith under his father Hafiz Fakhruddin and obtained *Ijazah* for the six basic books (*Sihah Sittah*) on Hadith. His works on Hadith are *Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* in persian and *Risalah Kushf al-Ghita`Amma Lazima li al-Muwatta`*.²

Shaikh`Inayatullah Shal-i- Kashmiri(d.1185H./1713)

He studied Hadith under the famous *Muhaddithin* of Kashmir and became a famous teacher of Hadith and taught the *Sahih al-Bukhari* from beginning to end as many as thirty- six times.³

Mirza Mazhar Jani Janan (d.1195H./1781)

He was a great spiritual leader of Delhi. He took spiritual instructions from Sayid Nur Muhammad Badayuni then from Hafiz Sa`dullah, an eminent *Khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq Sirhindi then Shaikh Muhammad `Abid Sunnam⁴ He studied Hadith under well-versed *Muhaddith* Haji Muhammad Afdhal Sialkoti⁵, from whom Shah Waliullah Dihlawi received the *Sanad* of Hadith..⁶ He used to practice according to Hadith strictly and called the people to this practice.⁷

Mir Azad Bilgrami (d. 1200H./1804)

He was born at Bilgram and studied Hadith under his maternal grandfather Mir Abdul Jalil Bilgrami(d 1138H./1725) then went to *Hijaz* and received *Ijazah*

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 168- 69, Dr Firwai, op cit, p 75, Nawshahrawi, op cit ,pp 334- 338, Azami. p 153

² - Ibid, pp 156- 57, Azami, pp 153- 54

³ - Ibid, p 160, Azami, 152

⁴ - Dr A A Rizvi, op cit , p 319

⁵ - Ibid, p 318, Dr Ishaq, p 145, Azami, p 153

⁶ - Al- Qawl- al- Jamil, op cit , p 224

⁷ - Dr Firwai, p 79, Prof al- Ghalib, op cit , p 244

from *Shaikh* Hayat Sindī (d 1163) at Madina and from Abdul Wahhab Tantawī (d 1157H) and returned to India and died at Awrangabad His works on Hadith are *Dhaw al-Darī Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Shamamat al-`Anbar fī ma warada fīl-Hind min Sayid al-Bashar*¹

Siraj Ahmad bin Murshid al- Mujaddidī (d.1230H./1815)

He studied Hadith under his father Shaikh Murshid (d 1201H./1785) His works on Hadith are *Tarjama -ī- Farsi Sahih Muslim*, *Sharh Farsi `ala Jami` al-Tirmizi* and *Risala Dar Zikr-ī- Ta`am wa Shurb*.²

¹- Dr Ishaq, op cit , pp 162- 63

²- Ibid, pp 143- 44

Section IV- 4th Stage: Shah Waliullah Dihlawi (1114- 1176H./ 1703-1762) and his School.

We have given a detail information about Shah Waliullah's biographical sketch earlier¹ as well as, a list of his works on Hadith along with other works² It has been also mentioned recently that the study and teaching of Hadith along with six basic books were available in the different parts of Indian sub-continent, and many erudite *Muhaddithun* were born in Indian territory and spent there exertions for diffusion of Hadith in their homeland, and many of them migrated to another countries, as well as many scholars of Hadith arrived in India from another countries and taught the Hadith staying in different centres³ In spite of this, India was lagging far behind in the study of Hadith, as compared with *fiqh* Moreover, the study and teaching of Hadith were neither well-planned nor they followed certain syllabus not there was any particular teaching method Generally, the *Muhaddithun* used to teach the Hadith according to their own wish and own times It was also taught from different books scatterly and partly in some times On the other hand the high ranked books of Hadith were not included in the syllabus adopted by the rulers Many scholars used to taught the Hadith only for supporting the prevailing *fiqh* Even about Shaikh Abdul Haq *Muhaddith* Dihlawi it is said that he was a *Faqih* rather than a *Muhaddith*, and his objective was to prefer the certain *mazhab* in the light of Hadith⁴

In view of the above, Shah Abdul Aziz Dihlawi's statement that his father Shah Waliullah had brought the science of Hadith to India from Madina⁵ would not be taken in its apparent meaning but it must be interpreted And that is the

¹ - Supra. Chapter II, pp 29- 87

² - Supra Chapter II Section V pp 63- 87

³ - Supra Chapter IV, Section I, II, III pp 158- 189, also see the achievement of Shaikh Abdul Rahim, the father of Shah Waliullah, Chapter II Section I pp 33- 34

⁴ - Nuzhat al-Khawahir, op cit, Vol 5, p 208, Shah Wali Allah - A Saint Scholar, op cit, p 46 (foot note)

⁵ - Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz, op cit, p 93 " علم حدیث بدر من ار مدینه اورد "

system of teaching, method, syllabus, teacher training, discipline, plan, programme, revolutionary thought and non-rigidity and non conventionalism and studying the Hadith as Hadith, liberalism, and taking the study of Hadith out of the weak based classical system and running it on dynamic and vital activities etc¹ These things Shah Waliullah might have brought from *Hijaz*, as well as produced from his own brain and exertion Which system made a movement of study of Hadith in Indian sub-continent, and his followers have tried to diffuse and disseminate the Hadith in different centres of India from his times till now a days

It will not be meaningless speaking here that according to knowledge and thought no one had appeared in the territory of Indian sub-continent like Shah Waliullah In this connection Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan's statement is worthy of mention As he said, "Had Shah Waliullah born in the earlier period he would have been considered as a greatest leading scholar and the crown of *muftahids*."²

Shah Waliullah's endeavour to propagate Hadith through revival of its teaching and writing monumental works on the subject, set afoot the process of Islamic revival in the Indian sub-continent or rather in the whole Islamic world during the present era (which begins by the 4th decade of the twelfth century of Hijrah (3rd decade of the eighteenth century C E) and continues to the present day) It was such a great achievement that overshadowed all of his literary and intellectual attainments, and he came to be known as the *Muhaddith* Dihlawi which really became an adjunct to his name³

Hakim Abdul Hai has after giving an account of the services of *Muhaddithun* of the eleventh and opening decades of the twelfth century A H entered into the endeavours of Shah Waliullah who was the speaker of that age

¹ We have mentioned the matter in Shah Waliullah's biographical sketch especially in the section of his teaching life Supra Chapter II, Section III, pp 47- 53

² - *Ithaf al-Nubala* op cit p 430 "اگر وجود او در صدر اول و زمانه ماضی می بود امام الأئمة و تاج المجتهدین شمرده می شد"

³ - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, p 121

and superior leader of all of his period and spent his exertions for diffusion and dissemination of science of Hadith and taught it and compiled many books. He not only revived the study of Hadith in India but created a general awakening among the Muslims. The Hadith came to be recognized as an essential part of curriculum of the religious schools which led the students to go in for specialization and higher studies on the subject. *Sihah Sittah* began to be studied in depth² and numerous commentaries on the classical works of Hadith came to be written in this country³.

Notable Egyptian scholar Allama Sayid Rashid Ridha has paid the tribute to the Indian *Muhaddithun* in these words "Had our brotherly scholars in India not paid attention to the science of Hadith in those days its study would have well-nigh died down in the eastern countries"⁴.

Shah Waliullah's sons, Shah Muhammad (d 1208H/1793), Shah Abdul 'Aziz Dihlawi (d 1239H/1824),⁵ Shah Rafi'uddin (d 1233H/1818), Shah Abdul Qadir (d 1230H/1815) and Shah Abdul Ghani (d 1203H/1789) all were *Muhaddithun*. We

¹ - Al-Thaqafa al-Islamiyah fil-Hind op cit, p 139-17

² - Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, p 131

³ - For details of the works of Indian scholars on Hadith see India's Contribution to Hadith Literature by Dr Ishaq and Juhud Mkhhlisah fi Khidmat al-Sunnah al-Mutahharah by Dr Abdur Rahman Firwai

⁴ - Miftah Kunuz al-Sunnah, Dr A I Finsirk, Arabic tr Muhammad Fuwad Abdul Baqi, Revision by Khalil al-Mies, Dar al-Qalam, Beirut, 1985, introduction, p 11, "ولولا عناية احوالنا علماء الهند بعلوم الحديث في هذا العصر لقضى عليها بالروايل من أمصار الشرق"

⁵ - Shah Abdul Aziz has taught the Hadith sixty years. Some of his famous students were Shah Rafi'uddin, Shah Abdul Qadir, Shah Abdul Ghani, Shah Muhammad Isma'il, Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Shah Muhammad Ya'qub, Abdul Hai Budhanavi, Sayid Ahmad Bareilvi, Sadruddin Khan Dihlavi, Shah Ghulam Ali Dihlavi, Shah Makhsumullah, Mir Mahbub Ali Dihlavi, Sayid Abdul Khaliq Dihlavi, Fadhl-i-Haq Khairabadi, Hasan Ali Hashimi Lucknowi, Husain Ahmad Malihabadi, Salamatullah Badaiuni Kanpuri, Rauf Ahmad Mujaddidi, Sayid Qutbul Huda Rai Bareilly, Shah Fadhur Rahman Ganj Muradabadi, Ithanaullah Panipati, Khurram Ali Balhuri, Fadhl Haq Kakuri, Rahman Bakhsh Chishti, Sayid Ramadhan Ali Amruhi, Shah Abu Sa'id Mujaddidi, Shah Ahmad Sa'id Mujaddidi, Sayid Haidar Ali Mujahid, Yiyadh Khan Bajuri, Sayid Jilani Faruqi Hakim, Fayadh Khan Bilaspuri, Muhammad Shakur Jafari, Shah Zahurul Haq Qadiri and Shah Abdul Ghani Munimi etc (almost these names have been mentioned by Imam Khan Nawshahrawi op cit, pp 58-59)

have discussed on them earlier and mentioned their achievements subsequently.¹ As well as we have given a list of Shah Waliullah's Students.² In this place we are going to give a short description about some *Muhaddithin* who ascribed to the *Madrasah* of Shah Waliullah and played vital role in the field of Hadith.

Qadhi Thanaullah Panipati (d 1225H /1810)

He was a most renowned student of Shah Waliullah and as a mark of his deep erudition in Hadith he was distinguished as *Bathuqi al-'Asr*. His famous works based upon the Hadith are *Tafsir Mazhari* and *Al-Lubab*.³

Shah Muhammad Isma'il bin 'Abdul Ghani Dihlawi (d 1246H /1831)

The famous reformer, religious fighter (*mujahid*) and *Shahid*, Shah Isma'il studied Hadith under his uncle Shah Abdul Aziz. He was a renowned *Muhaddith* and memorizer (*hafiz*) of thousands of Hadith. His books based upon the Hadith are *Taqwiyat al-Iman*, *Tazkir al-Ikhwān*, *Tanwir al-'Ainayn fi Ithbat Raf' al-Yadayn* etc.⁴

Shah Abu Sa'id bin Saif al-Qadr al-Mujaddidi (d 1250H /1835)

He was a great-great-grandson of Saifuddin bin Shaikh Abdul Haq. He studied Hadith under his uncle Siraj Ahmad and Shah Rafiuddin and Shah Abdul Aziz Dihlawi. He settled down in Delhi and succeeded his preceptor Ghulam Ali in the spiritual hierarchy founded by Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan (d 1195H).⁵

¹ - See Supra, Chapter 2, Section IV

² - See Supra Chapter 2 Section III

³ - Nawshahrawi, op cit, pp 206-217, Dr Ishaq op cit, pp 178-79

⁴ - Mirza Hanat Dihlawi, op cit, pp 28-40, Nuzhat al-Khawarizmi, op cit, Vol 7, pp 56-58, Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti op cit pp 419-422 Nawshahrawi pp 69-111

Dr Ishaq op cit p 145 Prof al-Ghalib op cit p 239

Shah Ishaq bin Afdhal Dihlawi (1262H /1846)

He was the grandson of Shah Abdul Aziz bin Waliullah from his daughter. He studied Hadith under his grandfather Shah Abdul Aziz and became a renowned *Muhaddith*. On the death of Shah Abdul Aziz (d 1239H 1824) the teachership of his *Madrasah* devolved on the shoulders of his famous learned grandson Shah Ishaq who then ably carried on the teaching of Hadith for a period of 20 years. He migrated to Makka and died there.¹ Hundred of students studied under him and became qualified *Muhaddithin*. Imam Khan Nawshahrawi and Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti mentioned 41 of them.² Among them Shaikh Mazhar Nanutuwi and Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri were the pioneers of the Hadith learning at the Seminary of Saharanpur. Shaikh Abdul Ghani Mujaddidi was the teacher of Maulana Qasim Nanutuwi, the founder of the famous *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum*, Deoband. Sayid Nazir Husain, the founder of the school of *Muhaddithin* of *Ahl al-Hadith*.³

These schools have been produced thousand of qualified *Muhaddithin* of both *Hanafite* and *Ahl-i-Hadith* schools. They and their successors established hundred of *Madrasahs* in different part of the Indian territory and they have produced thousand of *Muhaddithin* and compiled huge number of books on Hadith, its scienc, explanations and other matters related to the subjects till today. The majority of the Muslims of sub-continent are either morally or practically are

¹ - Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , Vol 7, pp 51- 52, Nawshahrawi, op cit pp 115 118 Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti, op cit pp 423-24, Dr Ishaq, p 182

² - Tarajim Ulama-i- Hadith Hind, pp 119- 20 Those are Shah Muhammad Ya qub, Shah Muhammad Umar bin Shah Isma il, Karamat Ali Isma ili, Shaikh Muhammad Ansari Saharanpuri Sayid Abdul Khaliq Dihlavi, Sibghatullah, Sayid Nazir Hosain, Yiar Ali Turhati Muhammad Ibrahim Nagar Nahsavi, Muhammad Thanvi, Shah Abdul Ghani Mujaddidi, Ali Ahmad Tunki Nawab Qutbuddin Khan, Alam Ali Muradabadi, Shah Fadhlor Rahman Ganj Muradabadi, Inayat Ahmad Kakuri, Muhammad Hazimi Arabi, Hafiz Muhammad Jawnpuri, Subhan Bakhsh Shikarpuri Abdullah Sindhi Gul Kabuli Nur Ali Sahsawani Muhammad Fadhil Surati Bahauddin Deccani Karamullah Dihlavi Nurul Hasan Kandhlavi Nasiruddin, Abdul Qayum Bhupali Nawajish Ali Dihlawi, Rustam Ali Khan Dihlawi, Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri, Abdur Rahman Panipati, Nawab Sadruddin Khan Dihlavi, Abdur Rashid Mujaddidi, Mazhar Ali Kakuri, Imdad Ali Amruhi Ahmadullah Anami Shah Muhiuddin Qutb Dilore, Jamaluddin Bhupali, Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Abdullah Ilahabadi then Rajshahiri alias Jhaw. In His Tarikh Ahli Hadith Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti mentioned 22 names of those students (Ibid p 424)

³ - Dr Ishaq p 182

the followers of those *Madrasahs*. This credit will return to Shah Waliullah Dihlawi and his school of Hadith - May Allah bless him and give him best reward

Shah Abdul Ghani bin Abu Sa'id al- Mujaddidi (d.1296H./1878)

He studied Hadith under his father Shah Abu Sa'id al- Mujaddidi and Shah Ishaq Dihlawi (d.1249H./1833) and went to the *Haramain* and obtained *Ijazah* for *Sihah Sittah* from 'Abid Sindi al- Madani(d.1257H.). He migrated to Madina and taught Hadith to a crowd of pupils until his death. He was a teacher of Shaikh Qasim Nanutuwi (d.1297H.) the famous founder of *Dar al-'Ulum* Deoband¹ Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ganguhi (d.1323H./1905) the famous *Muhaddith* of Deoband was also his student.² His work on Hadith is *Inyah al- Hayah fi Sharh Ibn Majah*.³

Ahmad 'Ali bin Lutfullah Saharanpuri (d.1297H./1880)

He studied Hadith under different *Muhaddithin* of India and *Haramain* and especially under Shah Ishaq Dihlawi. He established a lithograph press in Delhi named *Matba' Ahmadi*. On the outbreak of the mutiny of 1857 he went to his native place Saharanpur and subsequently became a professor of Hadith in the newly-founded *Madrasah Mazahir al-'Ulum* and taught till his death. His work on Hadith are *Hashiya Bukhari* and *Hashiya Tirmizi*.⁴

Qasim bin Asad Nanutuwi(d.1297H./1880)

He studied Hadith under Abdul Ghani Mujaddidi and Ahmad 'Ali Saharanpuri and the *Tasawuf* with Haji Imdadullah *Muhajir Makkī* (d.1317H.) He joined the Ahmadi Press in Delhi and worked with his teacher Ahmad 'Ali in editing and annotating Hadith works until the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857 At

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 146, 'Abdur Rahim, op cit , p 476, A'zami, op cit , p 162

² - A'zami, p 169, 'Abdur Rahim, p 476

³ - Dr Ishaq, p 146, A'zami, p 162, 'Abdur Rahim, p 470

⁴ - Ibid, p 183, A'zami, p 163

the instance of his preceptor Haji Imdadullah and his teacher Shah Abdul Ghani founded *Madrasah Dar al-`Ulum* at Deoband.¹

Mazhar Nanutuwi (d.1302H./1885)

He studied Hadith under different *Muhaddithin* of Delhi and especially under Shah Ishaq Dihlawi. He was the first teacher and *Muhaddith* of *Mazahir al-`Ulum* at Saharanpur. Maulana Mahmud Hasan Deobandi (d.1339H.) was his pupil.²

Sayid Nazir Husain Dihlawi, Miyan Sahib (d.1320H./1902)

He studied under Shah Ishaq for a long time in Delhi and received *sanad* from him and taught the Hadith sixty years. His fame as a *Muhaddith* spread throughout Islamdom and the students from different countries of *`Arab* and *`Ajam* came to Delhi to read Hadith with him.³ During his long teaching period more or less one lac twenty five thousand students studied Hadith under Him.⁴ Fazli Hosain Bihari has mentioned 500 names of those students.⁵ Of those students there were many *hafiz* of Hadith, successful teachers and voluminous and prolific writers. Shamsul Haq `Azimabadi(d.1329H.) the author of *`Aun al-Ma`bud fi Sharh Sunan Abi Dawud* and `Abdur Rahman Mubarakpuri (d. 1353H), the author of *Tuhfat al-Ahwazi bi Sharh Jami` al-Tirmizi* were his direct students. Hakim `Abdul Hai(d 1341H) one of the founder of *Nadwat al-`Ulama*, Lucknow and former rector of it (from 1333-1341H.) and the author of *Nuzhat al-Khawatir* was also his student⁶ The educational chain of *Ahli Hadith* of Indian territory generally is connected to him till to days. As well as almost educational and moral chains of Indian *Sunni* Hadith- scholars are generally linked with Shah Waliullah Dihlawi.

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 184, A`zami, op cit , p 167

² - Ibid, pp 182-83, A`zami, p 169

³ - Nuzhat al- Khawatir, op cit , Vol 8, pp 497- 98, Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti, op cit , p 426, Nawshahrawi, op cit , p 38, Prof al- Ghalib, op cit , p 321, The Encyclopedia of Islam, op cit ,Vol 1/A-B, p 259

⁴ - Al-Ghalib, p 322, Ashraf Lahori, Al- Bushra, Best Punjab Printing Press, Lahore, 1371H /1950, p 53

⁵ - Al- Hayat Ba`d al- Mamat, Maktaba Sa`udiya, Karachi, 1959, pp 662- 704

⁶ - Al- Thaqafah al-Islamiyah fil-Hind, op cit., introduction , p 4, Nuzhat al- Khawatir, Vol 8, p 498, As Hakim Abdul Hai Stated " اني حضرت دروسه سنة ١٣١٢ هـ فوجدته اماما جوالا في القرآن والحديث..."

Chapter V

Shah Waliullah and Usul-i-Hadith (اصول الحديث)

In this chapter we are going to mention some matters relating to *Usul-i-Hadith* which have been discussed by Shah Waliullah in different places of his books. This chapter includes Three sections Those are Importance of Hadith and its position in view of Shah Waliullah, some terminologies of science of Hadith, categories of books on Hadith

Section 1 : Importance of Hadith and its position in Shari`ah

The importance of Hadith and its position in Shari`ah are the significant chapter of science of Hadith and *fiqh* also Shah Waliullah as an expert in science of Hadith and *fiqh* has expressed his opinion on the position of Hadith in Islamic *Shari`ah* with full confidence and bravery We are going to mention them in this section in brief

In this connection Allama Iqbal stated, "The Prophetic method of teaching, according to Shah Waliullah, is that, generally speaking, the law revealed by a Prophet takes especial notice of the habits, way and peculiarities of the people to whom he is specifically sent The Prophet who aims at all-embracing principles, however, can neither reveal principles for different peoples, nor leaves them to work out their own rules of conduct His method is to train one particular people, and to use them as a nucleus for the building up of a universal *Shari`at*"¹

In His *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* the Shah said, "The crown of all infallible and the source and foundation of religious branches of learning is the science of Hadith which gives us an account of the sayings and doings of the noble Prophet as well as tells us of his tacit approval of the things done in his presence The

¹ - The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Ashraf Publishers Lahore 1988, pp 171-72

Hadiths are like luminous torches in the surrounding darkness, the mile-stones of guidance or like the brilliant moon shedding light in a gloomy night. One who follows them finds guidance and is blessed with merit and those who disregard them are misguided and ruined. For the life of the holy Prophet (PBUH) is the infinite source of divine commandments and prohibitions, admonitions and glad tidings and instructions and Allah's remembrance, the Hadiths abound in all these matters like the Quran or even to a greater extent"¹

In another place the Shah said, "The first and foremost thing to which intellect guides any one is that actions and aphorisms of the Prophet (PBUH) should be followed, then comes the stage wherein one should develop a sincere inclination for them in his heart, for this is incumbent on a man who has put his trust in Allah and promised to abide by His commandments, and who has also resolved to discharge the responsibilities laid on him"²

In his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* he said, "You leaf through the rulings of the earlier jurists and the commentaries compiled on them but are oblivious of the fact that the word of command is the behest of Allah and His messenger. Many amongst you are told about a certain Hadith, but instead of accepting and acting on it, you take the plea that you are bound to follow your own school of jurisprudence rather than that what the blessed Prophet (PBUH) did or said. You seem to think that the responsibility of understanding and interpreting the Hadiths rested only on those who were experts and perfect in knowledge, and since they did not act on a certain Hadith, there must have been some reason for it -- it must have been abrogated or superseded by another Hadith. Lo! this is not religion. If you have faith in your Prophet, then follow him implicitly, irrespective of what jurists say about it. Allah wanted you to follow the Quran and *Sunnah*"³

¹ "ان عمدة العلوم اليقينية وراسها و منى القبول الدينية و 24 - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, introduction, op cit, p 24
"اساسها هو علم الحديث"

² - Kalimat Tayibat, op cit, p 172, Abul Hasan Nadwi, op cit, pp 132-33

³ - Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, op cit, pp 1/214-15, "وَرُبَّ انسانٍ منكم يبلغه حديث من احاديث نبيكم فلا يعمل به ويقول انما عملي على مذهب فلان لا على الحديث"

In his *Fuyudh al-Haramain* the Shah said, "No noble task can one set oneself than to try to become a *Muhaddith* or at least a hanger-on (*tufaily*) of a *Muhaddith*"¹ In another place he said, "The learned *Muhaddiths* who practice according to their knowledge are more favourite with the Prophet (PBUH) than many *Sufis*, though the latter may surpass the former in refinement of spiritual qualities."² The Shah advised the admonitors and *Sufis* to study the Hadith and not to preach the false Hadiths.³ In his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyyah* the Shah stated, "The divine providence (*'imariyah*) requires that the open tongue should be inclined to diffusion of Hadith, because Allah closes the resources of sects of innovation (by dint Hadith) even if after a certain time."⁴

Shah Waliullah was not pleased with those who claimed themselves as *Muhaddith* without quality. As he said, "The *Muhaddith* of this time is a person who counted up the Hadith whether sound, faulty or nonsensical, and recited them quickly like an entertainer, flapping his jaw with full-force."⁵

As the other scholars of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah*⁶ the Shah considered the Hadith the basic source of Islamic *Shari'ah*. As he said, "You should know that there is no way for us to (obtain) knowledge of the divine laws and the rulings except through the report of the Prophet."⁷

¹ - Fuyudh al-Haramain, op cit, 24th vision, p 152

² - Al-Durr al-Thamin, op cit, transmission no 11, p 5, Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyya, op cit, p 1/250

³ - Al-Qaul al-Jamil, op cit, pp 23-25, 200, 205-207, 209-10

⁴ - Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyya, p 1/86

⁵ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas, P 1/371 "والمحدث من عَدَّ الأحاديث صحيحها وسقيمها وهذا كهذا الأسماء بقوة لحييه."

⁶ - For details see Dr Mustafa al-Sihaj, *Al-Sunnah wa Makanatuha fi al-Tashri al-Islami*, Dar al-Urubah, Cairo, 1380H/1961, pp 426-450, Dr Abdul Ghani Abdul Khaliq, *Hujjiyat al-Sunnah*, Dar al-Quran al-Karim, Beirut, 1407H/1986, pp 243-375, Maulana Abdur Rahman Kilani, *Aryna-i-Parveziyat*, Maktabat al-Salam, Lahore, 1987, Part 4 & 5, (*Dawam-i-Hadith & Difa-i-Hadith*), pp 527-664, 671-840

⁷ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, p 1/320, "اعلم أنه لا سبيل لنا إلى معرفة الشرائع والأحكام إلا خير النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم."

As for the Shah the document of *Shari'ah* either is the Book of Allah or the *Sunnat* of the Prophet or the *athar* of *Sahaba* and *Ibni'un* or *ijma'* or *qiyas*¹ The Shah drew the attention of Muslims to the fact that one of the basic cause of corruption in the Muslim society is to abandon the taking the Hadith from the Prophet and leaving the narrating it and rejecting the practice according to it²

As the almost *Fuqaha-i-Muhaddithin*³ the Shah considered the *Sunnah* as independent source of *Shari'ah*⁴ Therefore to pursue the *Sunnah* of the Prophet is necessary⁵ The Prophet has prohibited, commanded, warned, given glad tidings, given examples and reminded, and the Hadith abound in all this matters like the Quran⁶ or even to a greater extent⁷ He considered the *Sunnah* a kind of revelation (*wahiy*) from Allah⁸ As Allah said, "He (the Prophet) does not speak of his own wish It is only a revelation (*wahiy*) revealed"⁹

The Quran is not sufficient for understanding the *Shari'ah*, and those who claim it they are misguided and the Prophet has fore-told and warned about

¹ - Qurrat al- Ainyn, op cit , p 312, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit , 255, " بس دليل شرع يا كتاب است يا سنت "

² - Hujjatullah, Chapter Ihkam al- Shari ah min al-Tahrif, op cit , p 1/391, " منها عدم تحمل الرواية عن صاحب الملة والعمل به "

³ - See al-Risalah of Imam Shafi i, arranged by Imam Rabi Bin Sulaiman, ed and annotation, Shaikh Ahmad Shakir, Egypt, 1358H/1936, p 73, Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Al-Kifayah fi Ilm al-Riwayah Dairat al-Ma arif al-Uthmaniya, Hyderabad, 1357H , pp 8-12, Muhammad bin Ali al-Shaukani Irshad al-Fuhul fil-Usul, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, n d p 33, As he stated , " اعلم أنه قد اتفق من يعتد به من "

" أهل العلم أن السنة المطهرة مستقلة بتشريع الأحكام و أنها كالقرآن في تحليل الحلال وتحريم الحرام " see also Al-Sunnat Qabl al-Tadwin, Dr Muhammad Ajjaj al- Khtib, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, 1401H/1981, pp 25-26, Dr Abdul Ghani Abdul Khaliq, op cit , pp 513- 526, Dr Mustafa al-A zami, Dirasat fil- Hadith al- Nabawi wa Tan khu Tadwinih, Al- Maktab al- Islami, Beirut, 1413H/1992, Vol 1, pp 13-14

⁴ - Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 256

⁵ - Kalimat Tayyibat, op cit, p 172, " كه تتبع أخبار انحصرت صلى الله عليه وسلم در بيان أحكام الهي و بيروي أخبار "

⁶ - Abu Dawud no 4604, " وانها لمثل , Abu Dawud Imarah, no 33, " ألا اني أوتيت القرآن و مثله معه " القرآن

⁷ - Hujjatatullah al- Baligha, introduction, p 24, " وانها لمثل القرآن أو فانه صلى الله عليه وسلم بهي و أمر أكثر "

⁸ - Qurrat al- Ainayn, pp 312-13

⁹ - Surah al-Najm, Ayat no 3- 4

those who will say in future that they will practice according to the Quran only disregarding of Hadith ¹

In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* the Shah stated, "The *Muhaddith* must not reject a Hadith or a report of a companion on which the Muslims have agreed in favour of a principle which he himself or his peers derived, such as in the case of the Hadith of the buying un milked animal (*musarrah*) ² Shah Waliullah refused the opinion of some *Hanafi usul*-scholars like Imam al-Bazdawī (d 482H /1089) as they stated that implementing the Hadith of a non-legal expert, not obligatory when it would block the option of using independent analogical opinion (*rai*), then they rejected the Hadith of *musarrah* ⁴

The Shah did not oppose those *usul*-scholars only but as a great *Muhaddith* and *Faqih* he detected their mistake also That is, the above mentioned Hadith is not suitable to their formula, because that Hadith has been transmitted

¹ - Hujjatullah op cit, Chapter, Al-Itisam bil-Kitab wal-Sunnah, p 1/404-5 (For details see Hujjat al-Sunnah, op cit, pp 308-317), The Hadith has been transmitted by Abu Dawud, Kitab al-Sunnah Hadith no, 5, Kitab al-Imarah, Hadith no 33, Tirmizi, al-Ilm, Hadith no 10 As the Prophet said 'لا لعن احدكم متكئا على أريكته يأتيه الأمر من أمري مما أمرت أو بهيت عنه فيقول لا أدري' ما وحده في كتاب ' لا لعن احدكم متكئا على أريكته يأتيه الأمر من أمري مما أمرت أو بهيت عنه فيقول لا أدري' (Tirmizi, Abwab al-Ilm, no 2800, Abu Dawud, Sunnah, no 5)

² - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit, p 1/378, "ولا يسعى ان يرد حديثا او اثرا تطابق عليه القوم لقاعدة استخرجها هو أو أصحابه كرد حديث المصرة"

This refers to the practice of leaving camels or cattle un milked or tying up their udders some days before they are sold to make them appear more productive In this case the Hadith says that the buyer should have a purchase option of three days and then if he gives the animal back then he should give a *Sa'* (2172 Gm or 3261,5 Gm) of dates The Hadith has been accepted by the Shafite directly and has not been accepted by Hanafite, because the Hadith is Khabar Wahid and non-analogic and the transmitter of this Hadith (Abu Hurairah) is not Faqih (according to their own opinion) As per their opinion, buyer should return either milk or price or some thing like milk according to analogy (*qiyas*) not the fixed quantity of date (See Al-Minhaj, Sharh Sahih Muslim of Imam al-Nawawi, ed Khalil Mamun Shiha, Dar al-Ma rifah Beirut, 1418H /1998, Vol 10, p 407 I ath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit, Vol 4, pp 423-24, 426-28)

³ - Non-legal expert or non-Faqih According to this group of *Usuliyun* it means here Abu Hurairah (R) This kind of comment on a Sahabi like Abu Hurairah (R) is objectionable morally, legally, logically and historically Therefore, Shah Waliullah disagreed with them

⁴ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, pp 1/387, 2/272, introduction, p 39, Usul al-Bazdawī (Kanz al-Usul) Imam Abul Hasan al-Bazdawī, with Sharh Kashf al-Asrar of Abdul Aziz al-Bukhari, Sadaf Publication, Karachi n d, pp 2/379-80 "و اما رواية من لم يعرف نائقه و لكنه معروف بالعدالة و الصنط مثل أبي هريرة و اسداد باب الرأي اس بن مالك رصي الله عنهما فان وافق القياس عمل به و ان خالفه لم يترك الا بالضرورة و اسداد باب الرأي " و ذلك مثل حديث أبي هريرة رصي الله عنه في المصرة "

by the Bukhari and Muslim not from Abu Hurairah (R.) only¹ but the *fatwa* of Ibn Mas'ud (R.), (the *Faqih Sahabi*) also has been transmitted by Imam Bukhari in his *Sahih al-Bukhari* in favour of this Hadith.² Therefore, their formula regarding the Hadith of *musarrah* is not applicable.³ Hafiz Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani also drew the attention to the fact and said, "If the Hadith of Abu Hurairah (R.) had not been firmly established, Ibn Mas'ud (R.) would neither have been given his opinion in favour of it and nor he refused the clear analogy (*qiyas jali*),"⁴ and that analogy is, while returning the animal one should give either milk or price of milk or something like the milk not one *Sa'*⁵ of date in place of milk.⁶ Shah Waliullah has mentioned that many *Hanafite usuliyun* were not unanimous in condition of having legal acumen of transmitter of Hadith due to the precedence of a report over an analogy. As example he mentioned the Imam al-Karkhi (d 1064) and many 'Ulama followed him and accepted the *khavar wahid*⁷ of Abu Hurairah (R.) against the analogy. As they have accepted his report concerning the fasting person who eats or drinks out of forgetfulness, even if this opposes analogy, so that Imam Abu Hanifa (R.) said, "If not for the report I would have held the analogy (to be correct)."⁸

According to Shah Waliullah the *khavar wahid* can augment the Quran (al-ziyadat 'ala Kitabillah) as it is the opinion of Imam al-Shafi'i (d.204H/820) and

¹ - Bukhari, Al-Buyu', Hadith no 2148, Muslim, al-Buyu', Hadith no 3794, "ولا تصرؤوا الابل والغنم.... رذها و صاعا من تمر."

² - Sahih al-Bukhari, Al-Buyu', Hadith no 2149

³ - Hujjatullah al-Balighah, Chapter Al-Buyu' al-Manhiy 'anha, op cit, p 2/272, "و هذه القاعدة على ما فيها لا تنطبق على صورتنا هذه ، لأنه أخرجه البخاري عن ابن مسعود (رضي) أيضا و ناهيك به."

⁴ - Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit, Vol 4, p 427

⁵ - Sa' A measure of capacity, According to the majority of Fuqaha 2172 Gm and according to the Hafite Fuqaha 3261,5 Gm (Dr Muhammad Rawwas Qal'aji and Dr Hamid Sadiq Qunaibi Mu'jam Lughat al-Fuqaha, Arabic to English, Dar al-Nafais, Beirut, 1408, 1988, p 270)

⁶ - Usul al-Bazdawi, op cit, p 2/380, See also foot note no 2 of previous page

⁷ - Khavar Wahid Every Hadith which did not reach the rank of Hadith of mutawatir See infra pp 211, 231-33 In this place it means which Hadith has been transmitted by Abu Hurairah (R.) only and no one of the Sahaba participated him in it

⁸ - Hujjatullah, op cit, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas, p 1/389, "و ذهب الكرخي و تبعه كثير من العلماء ، إلى عدم اشتراط فقه الراوي لتقدم الخبر على القياس...."

many other *Muhaddithin*. In support of Imam Shafī'i¹ the Shah mentioned a dialogue held between Imam Shafī'i and Imam Muhammad bin Hasan Shaibani (d.189H/804) who did not permit for the *khbar wahid* to augment the Quran. Imam Shafī'i went over to Imam Muhammad bin Hasan while the latter was challenging the scholars of Madina about their giving judgement concerning one witness (being sufficient) for giving an oath. Imam Muhammad held that this judgement was augmenting the Quran. Imam Shafī'i said, "Is it affirmed by you that it is not permitted to augment what the Quran says on the basis of the report of a single transmitter? He replied, "Yes." Imam Shafī'i said, "Then why do you hold that the will (*wasiyah*) in favour of an heir not permitted based on the Prophet's (PBUH) saying, "Know that there is no will in favour of an heir"² While Allah says in the Quranic verse, "It is prescribed when death is drawing near to one of you (that if some property is to be left a will should be made in favour of parents and relatives)."³ He raised a number of objections of this sort to him, so that Imam Muhammad bin Hasan was silenced.⁴

As for Shah Wahullah the Hadith is the explanation of the Quranic Verses and he disagreed with those who did not say so.⁵

According to the Shah the Hadith is specifier (*Mukhassas*) of the Quran. And he is not pleased on those who did not opined so.⁶

¹ - For details of Imam Shafī'i's opinion on Khbar Wahid in this regard see Al-Risalah, Imam al-Shafī'i, op cit, pp 401-470, Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Kitab al-Kifayah fi 'Ilm al-Riwayah, op cit, pp 12-15, Al-Amidi Al-Ihkam fi Usul al-Ahkam, op cit, p 3/322

² - Tirmizi, Wasaya, no 2203, "فلا وصية لوارث"

³ - Surah al-Baqarah, Ayat no 180

⁴ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter: Asbab Ikhtilaf Mazahib al-Fuqaha, op cit, p 1/354

⁵ - Ibid, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas Qabl, p 1/387, "ولم يجعل الحديث بيانا للآية...", He stated in his Izalat al-Khafa, (op cit, pp 1/106-7), "ان حضرت صلى الله عليه وسلم سبى قرآن عظيم است، هر جا، "اشكاله بهم رسد بحديث آنحضرت رجوع مي بايد كرد، قال الله تعالى: لتبين للناس ما نزل اليهم." He further said, "هو الصادق المصدوق فيما قال والمبين لكلام المتعال." (ibid, p 1/203), for details of this subject see Al-Risalah of Imam al-Shafī'i, pp 28, 92, Al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Quran of Imam Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Qurtubi, ed 'Abdur Razzaq al-Mahdi, Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, Beirut, 1418H/1998, introduction, pp 72-75, Muhammad Abu Zahu, Al-Hadith wal-Muhaddithun, Dar al-Ifa, Riyadh 1404H/1984, pp 37-38, Dr Ajjaj al-Khatib, op cit, pp 25-26, Dr Mustafā A zami, op cit, p 12

⁶ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas, p 1/388, "حيث لم يجعلوه مخصصا". See Al-Risalah of Imam al-Shafī'i, pp 64-67, Muhammad Abu Zahu, p 38

As for the Shah the general (*'am*) Hadith will be specified by the particular (*khas*) Hadith.¹ As the general Hadith: "There is a one tenth *zakat* (*'ushr*) on spring watered land"² has been specified by the Hadith:³ "There is no *sadaqah* (alms tax) on what is below five '*ausuq*'."⁴ In some copies of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* the word '*awaq*' has been mentioned in place of '*ausuq*'.⁵ Although '*awaq*' is the part of the Hadith of '*ausuq*'⁶ to argue by the '*awaq*' is wrong, because the relevant matter is crop which is related with '*ausuq*' and the '*awaq*' is related with currency not with crops.⁷ In some copies of *Hujjatullah* the '*ausuq*' has been mentioned⁸ and that is correct according to the relevant subject matter

As for the Shah the excellent model for the subsequent generation of Hadith scholars and the researchers among them took the opinion that if the Quran could support various interpretation then the *Sunnah* would be used to rule on this issue.⁹

According to Shah Waliullah the *Sunnah* can abrogate (*mansukh*) the *Sunnah*.¹⁰ As the Prophet had forbidden from making *nabiz*¹¹ in every pot except

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas ., op cit , p 1/388, See Al-Amidi, op cit , p 2/321

² - Bukhari, Zakat, no 1483, Muslim in other words, Zakat, no 2269, "فيما سقت السماء و العيون العشر.."

³ - Bukhari, Zakat, no 1447, 1484, Muslim, Zakat, no 2260, 2263, "و ليس فيما دون خمسة أوسق صدقة"

⁴ - Ausuq Plural of Wasq Wasq equal to 60 Sa', and the Sa' is equal to 2172 Gm or 3261,5 Gm (See Fath al-Bari, op. cit, Vol 3, p 365, Mu'jam Lughat al-Fuqaha. op cit , p 502, 270)

⁵ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha with Urdu tr by Abu Muhammad Abdul Haq Haqqani, entitled Ni'matullah al-Sabigha, Kutub Khana Rahimiya, Deoband, n d Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas ., Vol 1, p 379, Hujjatullah al-Baligha, with Urdu tr by Muhammad Manzur al-Wajidi, op cit, Vol 1, p 388. English tr of Hujjatullah al-Baligha by Marcia K Hermansen, entitled The Conclusive Argument from God, Leiden, 1996, p 477

⁶ - Bukhari, Zakat, no 1447, 1784, Muslim, Zakat, no 2263, "و ليس فيما دون خمس أواق صدقة"

⁷ - Awaq Plural of Ouqiyah, equal to 40 Dirham of silver. (See Fath al-Bari, Vol 3, p 364, Mu'jam Lughat al-Fuqaha, p 97)

⁸ - Rahmatullah al-Wasi'ah, Urdu tr & Sharh of Hujjatullah al-Baligha, by Mufti Sa'id Ahmad Palanpuri, op cit , Vol 2 p 729

⁹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Farq Baina Ahl al-Hadith wa Ashab al-Rai, p 1/359, "و اذا كان القرآن محتتملاً بوجوه فالسنة قاضية عليه."

¹⁰ - Ibid, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, p 1/335, Dr Mazhar Baqa, p 245

¹¹ - Nabiz The water in which the fruits like dates and grapes had been steeped for drink before it became intoxicant (Mu'jam Lughat al-Fuqaha, op cit , p 474)

drinking- pot (*siga`*) then he abrogated it,¹ and permitted for other pots latter on² Like as the Prophet prohibited the visiting the graves and abrogated it by his latest Hadith³ and issued permission for visiting them.⁴

¹ - Muslim, Al- Janaiz, no 2257, " و نهيتكم عن النبيذ الا في سقاء فاشربوا في الأسقية كلها ولا تشربوا مسكرا . "

² - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Asbab al-Naskh, op cit , pp 1/299- 300

³ - Muslim, Al- Janaiz, no 2257, " نهيتكم عن زيارة القبور فزوروها . "

⁴ - Hujjatullah al- Baligha, Chapter, Al- Janaiz, p 2/90, Chapter Al-Qadha fil- Ahadith al- Mukhtalifah, p 1/335

Section II- Terminologies of Science of Hadith (مصطلحات الحديث)

As a great *Muhaddith* and erudite in *usul-i-Hadith* Shah Waliullah has presented many opinions on the terminologies relating to the science of Hadith. May we assemble them in this section after collecting them from his different books.

Shah Waliullah has classified the narrated Hadiths from the Prophet generally into seven classes. Those are *Mutwatir*, *Mustafidh*, *Mashhur*, *Khabar Sahih*, *Hasan*, *'Aziz* and *Dha'if*.¹

Mutwatir Hadiths are two kinds: *Mutwatir Lafzi* and *Mutwatir Ma'nawi*.²

***Mutwatir Lafzi* (المواتر اللفظي):** That Hadith which has been narrated (word by word) by a great number of transmitters that there could be no collusion, all being known to be reliable and not being under any compulsion lie naturally.³ The number of *mutwatir* is very little. As the Hadith of seeing of Allah in the hereafter day.⁴ and Hadith of '*Khair al-nas qarni*'.⁵ Dr. Rizvi has ascribed to the Shah a wrong definition of *mutwatir* Hadith. As he said, "Shah Waliullah reminds his readers that the individual Hadith should be divided into three categories according to their authority. The *mutwatir* or *ahadith* transmitted by reliable

¹ - Kalimat Tayibat, op cit , p 172, Maktubat ma'a Manaqib al- Bukhari wa Fadhilat Ibn Taimiyah. op cit , p 19, " نقل لفظ صاحب ملت وأن چند قسم مي باشد ' متواتر و مستفيض و مشهور و خبر صحيح و حسن و غريب و ضعيف."

² - Hujjatullah al- Baligha, op cit , p.1/ 317-18

³ - Izalat al-Khafa, op cit p 2/437, Mazhar Baqa, op cit , p 265, For details of Mutwatir Hadith see Nuzhat al-Nazar Sharh Nukhbat al- Fikar, Hafiz Ibn Hajar al- Asqalani, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, Beirut, 1409H/1989, op cit , p 25, Tadrib al- Rawi Sharh al- Taqrib al- Nawawi, Imam Jalaluddin al- Siyuti, Maktabah al-Riyadh al-Hadithah, 1386H/1967, pp 2/176-77, 'Uloom al- Hadith wa Mustalahuhu, Dr Subhi al- Salih, Dar al- Ilm lil- Malayin, Beirut, 1388H/1969, pp 146-49

⁴ - Hujjatullah al- Baligha, Chapter Kaifiyat Talaqqi al-Ummah al- Shar'a min al- Nabi, p 1/317 The Hadith is transmitted by Bukhari, Kitab al-Tauhid, no 7434-37, 7439

⁵ - Qurrat al- Ainayn, op cit , p 47 The Hadith is transmitted by Bukhari, Kitab Fadha'il al-Sahaba, no 3650- 51

authorities, being those which *Ummah* community accept and follow"¹ It is needless to say that almost Hadiths which been have transmitted by reliable authorities and accepted by *Ummah* are not *mutawatir*. Therefore, Mr Rizvi's this ascribing is wrong and the definition is unscientific and illogical

According to the Shah *mutawatir* Hadith gives the necessary knowledge (*al-`ilm al-Dharuri*) and absolute knowledge² And this is the opinion of almost *Muhaddithin*³ and *Fuqaha*.⁴

***Mutwatir Ma`nawi* (المواتر المعنوي)** : Receiving the divine law through indication (*dalalah*), and this is that the companions observed the Prophet (PBUH) speaking and acting, and then derived from that a ruling of obligatory and other rulings, so that they informed about that ruling, saying, "such as compulsory, while some other one is simply permissible." Then the successors likewise accepted this from the companions, and the third generation recorded their legal opinions and judgements and strengthened the matter.⁵

According to the Shah the *mutwatir ma`nawi* also gives absolute knowledge⁶ and obligatory ruling.⁷ Dr. Subhi al-Salih and Shaikh Ahmad Muhammad Shakir

¹ - Shah Waliullah and His Times, op cit , p 242

² - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari with Sahih al-Bukhari, Chapter Ma Yuzkaru fil-Fakhiz . op cit , p 20, " لما روي من طرق كثيرة حتى حصل العلم الضروري.. " , Musaffa Sharh al-Muwatta, op cit, p 2/255, " واين قدر از ضروريات دين است كه بتواتر ثابت شد. "

³ - Ibn Hajar `Asqalani, Nuzhat al-Nazar, op cit , pp 26- 28, Hafiz Ibn Kathir, Al-Ba`ith al-Hathith Sharh Ikhtisar `Ulum al-Hadith, commentary , Shaikh Ahmad Shakir, Al-Azhar, Egypt, 1370H /1951, p 35, Tadril al-Rawi, Al-Siyuti, op.cit., p 2/179, Dr Subhi al-Salih, op cit , p 151, Dr Mahmud al-Tahhan, Taisir Mustalah al-Hadith, Maktabat al-Ma`arif, Riyadh, 1313H /1993, p 20

⁴ - Usul al-Bazdawi, op cit , p 2/388

⁵ -Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit , Chapter Kaifiyat Talaqqi al-Ummah , p 1/318 For details of Mutwatir Ma`nawi see Tadril al-Rawi, op cit, p 2/ 180, Ulum al-Hadith wa Mustalahuhu, op cit , p 149

⁶ - Qurrat al-Ainayn, p 243, " متواتر بائد بالمعنى و دال باشد بالقطع " , Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, with Bukhari, Chapter . Ahl al-`Ilm wal-Fadhl , p 24, " معلومة لنا قطعاً بالأحاديث المتواترة المعنى " ,

⁷ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Kaifiyat Talaqqi al-Ummah , p 1/318, " فاستنبطوا من ذلك حكماً " , Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, with Bukhari, op cit , p 24 " معلومة لنا قطعاً " , من الوجوب و غيره.. " بالأحاديث المتواترة المعنى "

have mentioned that there was no disagreement among the *Muhaddithin* that the both Hadith *mutawatir lafzi* and *ma'nawi* obligate the absolute and faithful knowledge.¹

Shah Waliullah did not mention the *mashhur* Hadith in his classification in some places of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*. As he said that non-*mutawatir* Hadiths of which the highest level were the *mustafidh*, and the next category were the reports (*khabar*) judged sound (*sihhah*) or good (*hasan*) according to leading Hadith scholars.² As he mentioned it in ambiguous word in another place after *mustafidh*: "Or that it would become well known (*qaulan mashhura*) and implemented within a large area and be reported by a large body of the companions and the successors."³ This is not the definition of *mashhur* Hadith according to the term of *Muhaddithin*. However, the Shah included the *mashhur* in his general classification as it has been mentioned recently and he has given its definition in another place.

Mustafidh (المستفيض): Which Hadith has been transmitted by three or more of companions, then the transmitters continued to increase until the fifth generation,⁴ and this is a type of report found in great numbers, and on it are based the chief issues of jurisprudence.⁵ In his *Maktubat ma'a Manaqib Imam Bukhari* the Shah said, "The *mustafidh* is which have been transmitted by three companions and many people have transmitted from them and the transmitters continued to increase day by day."⁶ According to Shah Waliullah the *mustafidh* is the highest level of Hadiths⁷

¹ - 'Ulum al-Hadith wa Mustalahuhu, op. cit., p 151. "ولا خلاف بين المحدثين أن كلام المتواتر اللفظي والمعنوي يوجب العلم القطعي اليقيني" Al-Ba'ith al-Hathith, op cit , p 35

² - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Kaifiyat Talaqqi al-Ummah , op cit , p 1/317

³ - Ibid, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, p 1/ 320

⁴ - Fifth generation According to the classification of Hafiz al-Zahabi the fifth stage means generally the stage of Imam Abu Hanifa, Iamm Malik and others Those are more then seventy (Tazkirat al-Huffaz, Dairat al-Ma'arif al-Uthmaniya, 1376H/1956, Vol 1, pp 160- 244

⁵ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Kaifiyat Talaqqi al-Ummah , p 1/317, see also Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, op cit , p 1/210

⁶ - Maktubat Ma'a Manaqib al-Bukhari, op cit , p 21

⁷ - Hujjatullah, Chapter Kaifiyat Talaqqi al-Ummah , p 1/317, Maktubabat ma a Manaqib, p 2

after the *mutawatir*¹ As for other general scholars of *usul-i- Hadith* the number of transmitters of *mustafidh* should be equal from beginning to end of its chain² As for Shah Waliullah the *mustafidh* has also two classes *mustafidh* by word and *mustafidh* by meaning³

Mashhur (المشهور): Upon Shah Waliullah which has been transmitted by one or two companions from the Prophet⁴ Shah Waliullah has given very short definition of *mashhur* Hadith While almost scholars of science of Hadith have presented long description of it As for almost scholars of *usul-i- Hadith* the *mashhur* Hadith which has been transmitted by more than two transmitters, and according to a group of scholars the *mashhur* and *mustafidh* are same⁵ The number of transmitters in Shah Waliullah's definition of *mashhur* and that of other scholars' are different

'Aziz (العزیز): That Hadith which has been narrated from the Prophet by single transmitter and in the stage of senior or junior *Tabi'in* has several transmitters Like the Hadith. "The reward of deeds depends upon the intentions"⁶ This Hadith has been narrated from the Prophet (PBUH) by 'Umar bin Khattab (R,) only and from 'Umar by 'Alqamah only and from 'Alqamah by Muhammad bin Ibrahim only and from Muhammad by Yahya bin Sa'id al- Ansari only Yahya bin Sa'id is younger *Thabi'i*, and from him uncountable transmitters have transmitted this Hadith⁷ According to common *Muhaddithin* the *'aziz* Hadith is -- in every stage of which the chain should not be less than two transmitters⁸

¹ - Hujjatullah, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, p 1/320, " لأن أعلى أقسام الحديث ما ثبت بالتواتر "

² - Hafiz Ibn Hajar, op cit , p 28, Imam Siyuti, op cit , p 2/173, Dr Subhi al- Salih, op cit , p 234, Shaikh Jamaluddin al- Qasimi, Qawa id al- Tahdith fi Funun Mustalah al- Hadith, ed Muhammad Bahjah al-Baitar, Dar Ihya al- Kutub al- Arabiyah, Egypt, 1380H /1961, p 124

³ - Al- Tashimat al- Ilahiya, op cit , p 1/210

⁴ - Maktubat ma a Manaqib Al-Bukhari, op cit , p 21, " حديث مشهور كه از حضرت پیغمبری صلی الله علیه و سلم يك صحابي يا دو صحابي روايت کرده "

⁵ - Hafiz Ibn Hajar, p 28, Imam Siyuti, p 2/173, Dr Subhi al-Salih, p 234, Jamaluddin al- Qasimi, p 123

⁶ - Sahih al-Bukhari, Badu al- Wahy no 1 " انما الأعمال بالنيات "

⁷ - Maktubat ma a Manaqib Al- Bukhari, p 21, see Hafiz Ibn Hajar, p 29, Imam Al-Siyuti p 1/234

⁸ - Hafiz Ibn Hajar, p 29, Hafiz Abu Amr Ibn al- Salah, Muqaddimah fi Ulum al-Hadith, Dar al- Kutub al- Ilmiyah, Beirut, 1398H /1978, p 136, Imam Siyuti p 2/181

Gharib (العريب): That Hadith in any stage of which chain there is a single transmitter.¹ Shah Waliullah said that if the Hadith had only one chain and had no other chains that was called *gharib mutlaq*.²

Position of Khabar Wahid (مكانة خبر الواحد): It lexically means which has been narrated by one narrator. And according to terminology of the science of Hadith it means that Hadith which has been transmitted by a number of transmitters not enough to reach the stage of *mutwatir*. All non-*mutwatir* like *mashhur*, *ʿaziz* and *gharib* are *khabar wahid*.³ Imam al-Bazdawi (d.482H.) said that which report had been transmitted by one or two or more than two transmitters but less than the transmitters of *mashhur* and *mutwatir*, that is *khabar wahid*.⁴ Shah Waliullah has given some valuable opinions on *khabar wahid*, we shall mention them latter on.⁵

Sahih (الصحيح): That Hadith which has been transmitted by the *thiqah*⁶ (completely pious and preserver) transmitters from first to last with connected chain without *nukrah*⁷ and *shuzuz*⁸ that is called *sahih*.⁹ This is the common definition of *sahih* mentioned by almost scholars of science of Hadith except they have said *mu'allal*¹⁰ in place of *nukrah* which has been mentioned by the Shah.¹¹

¹ - Ibn al- Salah, op cit , pp 136-37, Ibn Hajar, op cit , pp 35- 36, Dr al- Tahhan, op cit , pp 28-29

² - Maktubat ma'a Manaqib Al-Bukhari, op cit , p 21

³ - Ibn Hajar, pp 32- 33. Dr al-Tahhan, p 22

⁴ - Usul al-Bazdawi, op cit, p 2/370

⁵ - See infra, section III, pp 231-33, also supra, p 203, (foot note no 7)

⁶ - Thiqah That transmitter who bears the Adalah and Dhabt, (Hafiz Ibn Hajar, pp 40, 43, Al- Siyuti, p 1/63) `Adalah means Muslim, `Aqil, Baligh, neither Fasiq nor ill- natured nor defective virtue And dhabt means preserving the Hadith exactly either in memory or in book (Dr Al-Tahhan, p 35)

⁷ - Nukrah That Hadith which has been transmitted by the weak transmitter against the transmission of strong transmitter (Ibn Hajar, pp 51-52, Dr Al- Tahhan, p 96)

⁸ - Shuzuz That Hadith which has been narrated by trustworthy transmitter against the transmission of more strong transmitter than him (Ibn Hajar, pp 50- 51, Dr Al- Tahhan, pp 117- 18)

⁹ - Maktubat ma'a Manaqib, p 21 "اگر بعض طرق او تمام همه ثقات متصل بغیر نکره و شنوؤ باشند و روایت از علماء معروفین بعدالت و ضبط باشد مخصوص می شود یا اسم صحیح."

¹⁰ - Mu'allal That Hadith which apparently is seen sound but it has subtle hidden defect which no one can detect except great expert in science of Hadith (Ibn Hajar, pp 68-69, Dr Al-Tahhan, pp 99-100)

¹¹ - Ibn al- Salah, p 8, Ibn Hajar, p 37, Hafiz Zainuddin al-'Iraqi, Al- Taqid wal-Iddah lima Ughliqa wa Utlqa min Muqaddimat Ibn al-Salah, Muassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqafiyah, Beirut, 1413H /1993, p 24, Al- Siyuti, op cit , pp 1/63- 65, Dr al- Tahhan, p 34

Hasan (الحسن): According to Shah Waliullah that Hadith which did not reach the stage of fame (*shuhrah*) before the period of compiling and has many lines of chain and it would be known that this Hadith has been transmitted from the companion or *Iabi`i* or *Iaba` Iabi`m* Then which Hadith has several chains, and transmitters are connected to each other that is *hasan*. Afterwards that Hadith which has different chains and the transmitters are connected with each other and one chain becomes witness of other said *hasan mutlaq*,¹ and this is the term of Imam Tirmizi,² and he is the first scholar who has given the title of *hasan* for a certain kind of Hadith.³ According to the common scholars of *usul-i- Hadith* the *hasan* is that Hadith in which the conditions of sound (*sahih*) Hadith will be found but the transmitter's memory will be weaker than the transmitter of *sahih Hadith*.⁴

Marfu`⁵ Hukmi (المرفوع الحكمي): There are some reports which apparently are shown that those are related to the *Sahabi* only (*mauquf*)⁶ but when those are observed deeply appeared that those are actually going back to the Prophet (*marfu`*).⁷

According to Shah Waliullah there are four kinds of expression indicate to *marfu`* report. Those are the sayings of the companions :

¹ - According to Hafiz Ibn Hajar and Ibn al-Salah, if the Hasan is strengthened by other witness chains it would reach the stage of Sahih Nuzhat al- Nazar. p 46. "وانما يحكم له بالصحة عند تعدد الطرق", Ibn al- Salah, op cit , p 17

² - Imam Tirmizi said in his Kitab al-`Ilal, at the last of his Al- Jami` , "كل حديث يروى لا يكون في اسناده من يتهم بالكذب ولا يكون الحديث شاذاً" و يروى من غير وجه نحو ذلك فهو عندنا حديث حسن". Jami al- Tirmizi with Shahrh Tuhfat al-Ahwazi, op cit , Vol 10, p 366

³ - Maktubat ma`a Manaqib, op cit , p 21

⁴ - Ibn al- Salah, p 16, Ibn Hajar, p 48, Al- Siyuti, op cit , p 1/158, Hafiz al-`Iraqi, op cit , p 48, Dr al- Tahhan, op cit , pp 45-46

⁵ - Marfu` That Hadith which narrates the Prophet's speech or act or consent with the chain going back to the Prophet (Ibn al-Salah, p 22, Ibn Hajar, pp 83-85, Al-Tahhan, pp 128- 29)

⁶ - Mauquf In general, any report narrated from the companions of the Prophet either that report related to their speech or act or Consent or like this (Ibn al- Salah, p 22, Ibn Hajar, p 91, Al-Tahhan, p 130)

⁷ - Ibn al- Salah, p 24, Al- Iraqi, p 69, Al-Tahhan, p 131

- 1- "The Prophet commanded, forbade, judged and gave dispensation "
- 2- "We were ordered and forbidden "
- 3- "Such and such is the practice of the Prophet "
- 4- " Whosoever does this disobeyed Abul Qasim (Prophet) " ¹

The Shah further said, that the companion's saying that the Prophet used to do such a thing -- is clear in indicating that the action was done repeatedly, and the statement of another companion that he used to do something else does not contradict it. The companion's statement, "I used to keep company with the Prophet and I did not see him forbidding such and such," and "we used to do it in his time." clearly represent the consent (*taqrir*) on act, and that is not direct textual order (*nass*). ²

Mursal (المُرسل): That Hadith which chain has been cut between *Tabi'i* and the Prophet (PBUH). As the *Tabi'i* directly transmits from the Prophet without mentioning the *Sahabi* between him and the Prophet and say that Prophet said so, did so or gave consent so ³ There are *mursals* of *Sahabi* also. That is, which has been transmitted by the *Sahabi* from the Prophet although he did not hear or see him directly either due to his youngness or his embracing Islam lately or his absence. According to almost *Muhaddithin* the *mursal* of *Sahabi* is accepted unconditionally ⁴ The *mursal* of *Tabi'i* will be accepted on some general conditions. Those are

- a - The narrator *Tabi'i* (who does the *mursal*) should be senior most *Tabi'i*
- b - When he mentions the name the omitted person (*Sahabi*) it would be proved that he was trustworthy transmitter

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, op cit , p 1/336. See also Ibn al-Salah, op cit , p 24, Al-Iraqi, op cit , p 69, Al-Nawawi & Siyuti, op cit , pp 185-190. Al-Tahhan op cit , p 132

² - Hujjatullah, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah p 1/337

³ - Ibn Hajar, p 59, Ibn al-Salah, pp 25-26, Al-Tahhan, p 71

⁴ - See Ibn al-Salah, p 26. Al-Tahhan, p 74

c - When the trustworthy *Huffaz* (memorizers) of Hadith participate in transmitting this Hadith should not disagree with him¹

As for Imam Abu Hanifa and Imam Malik the *mursal* is accepted unconditionally.²

According to Shah Waliullah the *mursal* bears no rank of *musnad* (connected chain) as this is the opinion of almost *Muhaddithin*³ He said, "If the *mursal* combined with circumstantial evidence, for example, it is supported by *Sahabi's mauquf*⁴ transmission, or by a weak *musnad* Hadith, or by other's another *mursal* transmission narrated from different *Shuyukh* (teachers), or by the opinion of major learned persons, or by a perfect analogy (*qiyas*) or by an allusion in a *shar`i*-text, or if it is known that he usually does not make *mursal* but from the trustworthy documentable transmitter; then it may be accepted as argument, but it is lower status than a *musnad* (connected chain) Hadith, and if it (*mursal*) is not supported by the evidences would not be accepted.⁵

As for example of acceptance of *mursal-i-Sahabi* the Shah mentioned the Hadith of Sahl bin Sa'ad in *Sahih al-Bukhari* under the chapter: "Women wash the blood herself." Then said that the Hadith is *mursal* of *Sahabi*, because Sahl was then so young and did not participate the battle of *Uhud* (3rd. H) and the *mursal* of *Sahabi* is accepted and practice according to it is legal.⁶

¹ - Al- Khatib al- Baghdadi, op cit , pp 405- 6, Ibn al- Salah, op cit , p 26, Ibn Hajar, op cit , p 60, Al- Nawawi & Al- Siyuti, op cit , pp 1/198-204, Al- Tahhan, op cit , p 73

² - Ibn al- Salah, p 26, Ibn Hajar, p 60, Al- Amidi, op cit , p 1/203, Al- Tahhan, p 73

³ - Musaffa, op cit , p 18 , " لیکن چون موافقت جم غفیر محدثین کہ قائل بفرق اند در میان مسند و مرسل , منظور است می باید کہ وصل مرسل... " Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al- Qadha fil- Ahadith al- Mukhtalifah, op cit , p 1/338

⁴ - Mauquf Supra, 212

⁵ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, pp 1/337-38, " والمرسل ان اقترن بقرينة مثل أن يعتضد بموقوف صحابي أو مسنده الضعيف أو مرسل غيره والشيوخ متغايرة أو قول أكثر أهل العلم أو قياس صحيح أو إيماء نص أو عرف أنه لا يرسل إلا عن عدل صح الاحتجاج به، و كان نازلا من المسند، و إلا لا " .

⁶ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhar, op cit , p 36, " باب غسل المرأة إتياءها الدم : و حديث الباب مرسل , الصحابي، لأن سهلا كان صغيرا ما شهد أحدا، و مرسل الصحابي مقبول يعمل به."

Transmission of Unknown (رواية المجهول) According to the terminology of science of Hadith it is used for that transmitter of Hadith who is unknown either in his person or his condition and attribution or undetected due to using his different names or attributions or titles etc. There are different opinions of scholars of Hadith in acceptance and rejecting the Hadith of *majhul* transmitters considering their different conditions¹

As for Shah Waliullah the transmission of unknown transmitter is not accepted generally². But if the transmission of unknown condition (*hal*) transmitter combined with evidences, like commensuration with analogy (*qiyas*) or with the practice of major learneds, then the preferable course is that it should be accepted³

Transmission by meaning (الرواية سماعي): Upon the almost *Muhaddithin* and *Luqaha* including four famous *Imams* transmission by meaning is legal with two basic conditions

- 1- The transmitter should be well-versed in the meaning of words and their implications (معاصد)
- 2- He must be well known as expert in proper using the words and rendering the exact thematic purport of Hadith⁴

According to Shah Waliullah's opinion, the transmission of Hadith with meaning is legal. As he said, "The concern of the majority of Hadith transmitters when transmitting the meaning of the Hadith was with expressing the essentials of the meaning, not the (precise) expressions which are recognized by those experts in the Arabic language. Thus they drew inference from things like the '*Ia*' the

¹ - Ibn al- Salah, op cit, pp 53-54, Ibn Hajar, op cit, pp 78-79, Al- Tahhan op cit, pp 119-22

² - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith op cit, p 1/321 "او من رواية المجهول" فلا ينيل الى القول به

³ - Ibid, Chapter Al- Qadha fil-Ahadith al- Mukhtalifah, p 1/338 "او مجهول الحال، المختار انه يقتل ان افترن بقريته"

⁴ - Ibn al- salah, p 50, Ibn Hajar p 77, Al- Tahhan pp 172- 73

'Wau' and one word preceding or coming after another and other sorts of hair-splitting. Often another transmitter will express this same narration, replacing one word instead of another. The truth is that whatever the transmitter reports should be literally taken as the speech of the Prophet (PBUH), then if another Hadith or evidence comes to light it must also be taken into account "¹

In another place he stated, "The wording of the Hadith may vary due to variation in the manner of transmission, and this is due to the process of transmitting the Hadith according to its meaning, so if a Hadith is brought forward and the reliable scholars are unanimous regarding its wording, then these are manifestly the words of the Prophet (PBUH). In this case it is possible to make an induction (*istidlal*) on the basis of something coming precedingly or being later (in the text) and its having a "Wau" or "Fa" and so on, concerning expression which are additional to the basic meaning. If the transmitters differ with a plausible difference and they were of nearly equal status in legal acumen (*fiqh*), memory and more number, then the obviousness (that these are Prophet's words) collapse, and only that meaning upon which they all concur can be deduced. The majority of transmitters attended to the main ideas of the meaning, not to the peripheral factors, and their status varies the saying of the reliable one, that of the majority, or that of the person most acquainted with the story should be adopted "²

According to the Shah, in the field of invocation (*du`a*) the word should not be changed. He has mentioned the Hadith in which the *Sahabi* Bara Ibn Azib (R) recited the invocation with changing the word *Rasul* by *Nabi*, the Prophet protested and corrected the word.³ Shah Waliullah commented, "There is an indication in this Hadith that the specialty of the words of *du`a* should be taken into account. Its words should not be changed by other words even if those are

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Hikayat Hal al-Nas, sub-section, op cit, pp 1/377-78

² - Ibid, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, p 1/337

³ - Sahih al-Bukhari, Udhru, no 247

synonymous or equal in meaning 'There are many inner meanings in this practice.'¹

Addition by Trustworthy (زيادة الثقة): It means the additional words found in the Hadith transmitted by trustworthy transmitters either in its text or chain which have not been found in the same Hadith transmitted by other narrators²

If these additional words do not oppose or contradict the others' transmission then it would be accepted.³ And the learneds have unanimously accepted this.⁴ Because it is as good as a independent Hadith narrated by trustworthy transmitter individually.⁵

As for Shah Waliullah if the saying of someone reliable indicates their greater precision, for example the transmitter's saying, "She (*ʿAyiṣha*) said, "He sprang up" (وَنَسَبَ) and she did not say, "he stood up" (قَامَ), and she said, "he poured water on his skin" and she did not say, "he washed," then it should be accepted. If they disagree inordinately (on some points) and are otherwise close and there is no reason for preference, then the particulars in which they vary can be discounted.⁶ The Shah further stated, "If a reliable transmitter is unique in reporting an addition which the silence of the rest does not preclude, then this is accepted, such as in tracing back the *mursal* Hadith, or adding a person in the chain of transmitters, or mentioning the situation in which the Hadith originated, the cause of its being transmitted, prolixity of talk, or mentioning an extra sentence which does not alter the meaning of the text. If this (silence of the others regarding the addition) is impossible, such as in the case of the addition which changes the

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari (with Sahih al-Bukhari), Chapter Fadhl Man Bata alal-Udhu, op cit , p 18, see also Fath al-Bari, Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit , Vol I , p 427

² - See Ibn al-Salah, op cit , p 40, Ibn Hajar, op cit , p 48, Al-Tahhan, op cit , p 137

³ - Ibn al-Salah, p 40, Ibn Hajar, p 49

⁴ - Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, op cit , p 247, Ibn al-Salah, p 40, Ibn Hajar, p 48

⁵ - Ibn Hajar, pp 48-49

⁶ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, op cit , p 1/337

meaning or an unusual thing which would not customarily have been omitted, then it is not accepted ¹

Conditions of Transmitters (شروط الرواة): There are two basic conditions for being a transmitter qualified and accepted, those are *'Adalah* and *Dhabt*.

'Adalah (العدالة): It means the transmitter must be Muslim, matured (*baligh*), sensible (*'aql*) and free from the causes of sinfulness (*fisq*) and free from the acts counted as discourtesy (*muruwat*).

Dhabt (الضبط): It means the transmitter should neither be against the strongest transmitter in narrating the Hadith, and nor be deadly mistaker, and nor be weak in memory, and nor be inattentive, and nor be very delusious (*kathir al-awham*). He must memorize the Hadith exactly if he narrates from his memory and must write it correctly if he narrates from his copy.²

There are different opinions on acceptance the transmission of child. The more correct opinion is to consider the age of discretion for hearing and bearing the Hadith.³ In this connection Shah Waliullah said, "There is no disagreement in the matter that the transmission and conveyance of Hadith is not valuable unless those have been done by sensible (*'aql*) and *baligh*. But receiving the Hadith is permissible for the child when he attains the age of understanding (*ihṭilam*) and when he becomes matured and can distinct between good and bad.⁴

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, op cit, p 1/338

² - Ibn al-Salah, op cit, pp 49-50, Ibn Hajar, op cit, p 38, Al-Tahhan, op cit, pp 145-47

³ - Ibn Hajar, p 123, Ibn al-Salah, pp 60-62

⁴ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, (with Bukhari), Chapter Mata Yasihhu Sama' al-Saghir, op cit, p 15

Transmission of non-Muslim (رواية غير المسلم): The unanimous verdict of the *Ulama* that the transmission of non-*Muslim* is not accepted at all¹ Hafiz Ibn Hajar (d.852H /1449) says that if the non-*Muslim* receives the Hadith and transmits it after embracing Islam that would be accepted.²

Shah Waliullah's opinion in this matter is not so clear His speech indicates that he is suffering from indecision. In his *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al- Bukhari* the Shah has mentioned the chapter of *Sahih al- Bukhari* : "When the dust has been thrown upon the back of worshiper" then said that the argumentation by this *ta'liq* (omitted chain Hadith) of chapter needed careful study, because the transmitter of this story was Abu Sahl, and he was non-*Muslim* when he received this story, and there was a disagreement among the scholars in acceptance these kinds of transmission.³

Transmission of innovator (رواية المبتدع): The opinion of almost scholars that the innovator if calls to the innovation (*bid'ah*) his narration is not acceptable.⁴ In this connection Shah Waliullah said that the transmission of caller to innovation or who supports the innovator is not accepted according to unanimous opinion of *Muhaddithin* and as per inference of clear sense (*istidlal bil 'aql al-sarah*).⁵

Gharib al-Hadith (غريب الحديث): It means uncommon, hard and difficult words in the text (*matn*) of Hadith. This is an important subject to the scholar of Hadith. And to deal with this subject is not easy and whoever deals with this subject he must take care and fear.⁶

¹ - Al- Amidi, op cit , pp 1/174- 79, Al- Shaukani, op cit , p 50

² - Nuzhat al- Nazar, op cit , p 123

³ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al- Bukhari, (with Bukhari), Chapter Iza Ulqia 'ala Zahr al- Musalli , op cit , p 18

⁴ - Ibn al- Salah, op cit , p 54, Ibn Hajar, pp 80-82, Al- Shaukani, op cit , pp 50-51, Al- Tahhan, op cit , p 123

⁵ - Qurrat al- 'Aynain, op cit , p 281

⁶ - Ibn al- Salah, p 137, Ibn Hajar, pp 77- 78, Al- Tahhan, p 174

There are some books which dealt with this subject like *Gharib al-Hadith* of Imam Abu Ubaid al-Qasim bin Salam al-Harawi (d 224H /838),¹ *Gharib al-Hadith* of Imam Abu Sulaiman Hamad al-Khattabi (d 388H),² *Al-Faiq fi Gharib al-Hadith* of Abul Qasim Mahmud Jar-Allah al-Zamakhshari (d 583H),³ and *Al-Nihayah fi Gharib al-Hadith* of Imam Majduddin Ibn al-Atheer (d 630H)⁴

Shah Waliullah has given a special attention to the *Gharib al-Hadith*.⁵ He has instructed the teacher to settle the spelling of hard words. All the ambiguous words either nouns or verbs in sentences should be cleared. Similarly the dotted (*nuqta*) or non-dotted words should also be properly understood in order to avoid errors. Then the literal and technical meanings of all uncommon words should be explained and obscure and abstruse verbal inflection in sentences should be explained according to the rules of *Sarf* and *Nahu* (Arabic grammar)⁶

Considering the importance of *gharib al-hadith* the Shah has tried to explain them in his many books. In the introduction of his *Al-Musaffa Sharh al-Muwatta* the Shah stated, "I have explained the uncommon hard words of Hadith as well as translated the Hadith (into Persian)"⁷ In *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta* he stated, "I shall describe the lexical meaning of the words which is related to *gharib al-Hadith* according to need"⁸ The Shah has fulfilled his commitment in his *Al-Musaffa* and *Al-Musauwa*. According to the counting of this researcher the Shah has explained in his *Al-Musauwa* as much as 251 uncommon hard words. Among

¹ - *Gharib al-Hadith* of al-Harawi. It has been published in 2 volumes from Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, Beirut, in 1406H /1986

² - *Gharib al-Hadith* of al-Khattabi. It has been published with edition & annotation of Dr. Abdul Karim Ibrahim al-Azbabi, in 3 volumes from Dar al-Fikr, Damascus, in 1402H /1982

³ - *Al-Faiq*. It has been published with edition & annotation of Ibrahim Shamsuddin in 4 volumes from Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, Beirut, in 1417H /1996

⁴ - *Al-Nihayah*. It has been published with edition of Ahmad Muhammad al-Tanahi and Tahir Ahmad al-Zawi in 5 volumes from Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi, Beirut, n.d.

⁵ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, introduction, op cit, p 24, "ثم يتلوه في معاني عريبتها"

⁶ - Rialah Danishmandi with Wasayat Nama, op cit, p 12

⁷ - *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta*, introduction, op cit, p 11, "وشرح عريب وترجمه هر حديث"

⁸ - *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta*, introduction, op cit, p 64, "و این ما مست الیه الحاجة فی معانیہ"
"اللغویة من شرح عریب و ضبط مشکل"

them 63 words in the first part and 188 words in the second part of the book, beginning with *yanhadiru* (يحدّر) means *yanzilu* (ينزل)¹ and ending with *anqah al-Madinah* (أنقاب المدينة) *turuq al-Madinati wa fiya juha* (طرق المدينة وفجائها)² In his *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* he described the meaning of near about 37 words³ In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* he explained some uncommon hard words but very little in number As for example he explained the word *al-hata* (الحياء), and said that is abstention of soul (إحجام النفس) from the action which is generally blamed by people⁴ As well as '*al-tasriyah*' (التصريه) and said, "It means to store the milk in the udder of animal for a long time then the buyer imagines that the animal gives large quantity of milk."⁵

Mukhtalaf al-Hadith (مختلف الحديث): According to the scholars of science of Hadith, it means the apparently contradiction among the Hadiths, and how to conciliate among them.⁶ This is one of the subject relating to *usul-i-Hadith* to which the scholars of science of Hadith and that of *fiqh* have given special importance and almost of them discussed on this matter in their books either shortly or elaborately.⁷ Imam Ibn al-Salah(d.642H./1244) said, "Only the leading scholars who combine both Hadith and *fiqh* and delve deep into their subtle meanings can do this task."⁸

Shah Waliullah Dihlawi as a high-ranked *Muhaddith* and *Faqih* has taken a brave step in this field and presented many ways to conciliate among the

¹ - Al-Musauwa, Chapter Yajibu al-Udhu min al-Mazi, Hadith no 4, op cit, p 1/70

² - Ibid, Chapter Fadhlul Madinaht al-Nabi, no 1928, p 2/505

³ - See Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, op cit

⁴ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Section Al-Maqamat wal-Ahwal, op cit, p 2/244

⁵ - Ibid, Chapter Al-Buyu` al-Manhiy`anha, p 2/ 271

⁶ - Ibn al-Salah, op cit, p 143, Ibn Hajar, op cit, p 55, Nawawi & Siyuti, op cit, p 2/196

⁷ - Ibn al-Salah, p 143, Al-Iraqi, op cit, pp 271-74, Nawawi & Siyuti, pp 1/196-202, Ibn Hajar, pp 55-57

⁸ - Ibn al-Salah, p 143, Nawawi and Siyuti, p 2/196, Imam al-Ghazali, Al-Mustasfa min Ilm al-Usul, Matha'ah Mustafa Muhammad, Egypt, 1356H/1937, pp 126-133, Al-Amidi, op cit, pp 190-194, Al-Shaukani, op cit, pp 273-284

apparently contradictory Hadiths and devoted a separate chapter to the subject in his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* entitled "*Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah*" (القضاء في الأحاديث المختلفة). In the beginning of his discussion on this subject the Shah has given two important notes :

- a- To implement every Hadith unless inconsistency would preclude acting according to them all.
- b- In reality there can be no disagreement (among the Hadiths) except from our perspective.¹

In this manifestation the Shah has coincided with Imam Ibn Khuzaimah (d.311H./924) who declared with challenge, "I do not know that there is any contradiction between two Hadiths which have been transmitted from the Prophet (PBUH) with sound chains, if any one has this kind of Hadiths he should show me then I conciliate among them."² This theme has been transmitted from Imam Shafi'i (d.204H./820) also.³ Shah Waliullah has prescribed some ways to conciliate among the contradictory transmissions. Those are:

- 1- The contradiction between two transmissions relating to Prophet's acts only. To conciliate between them there are seven ways.
- 2- The contradiction between the transmissions relating to Prophet's speeches and acts. There are two ways to conciliate between them.
- 3- The contradiction between the two transmissions relating to Prophet's speeches only. There are four ways to conciliate between them. Those are interpretation (*tawil*), adjustment (*tatbiq*), abrogation (*naskh*) and preference (*tarjih*).⁴

¹ - Hujjatullah, Chapter Al-Qadha bain al-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, op cit , p 1/332, "الأصل أن يعمل لكل حديث إلا أن يمتنع العمل بالجميع للتناقض" وأنه ليس في الحقيقة اختلاف ولكن في نظرنا فقط.

² - Ibn al-Salah, op cit , p 143, "لا أعرف أنه روي عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حديثان بإسنادين صحيحين متضادين، فمن كان عنده فليأتني به لأؤلف بينهما".

³ - Al-Shaukani, op cit , p 275

⁴ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Qadha fil-Ahadith al-Mukhtalifah, pp 1/332- 336

Inner meanings of Hadith (أسرار الحديث): One of the most important work of Shah Waliullah that he has described the inner meanings of Hadith and secret meanings of *Shari`ah*. According to some scholars this is a part of science of Hadith. As Dr Ishaq said, "The *Asrar al-Din*, the philosophical expositions of the rites and rituals of Islam, the most important part of the science of Tradition"¹

Actually this is a new part has been added by Shah Waliullah with the science of Hadith. Otherwise, no book relating with the science of Hadith discussed on this subject. The Shah himself some times used *asrar al-Hadith*² and some times *asrar al-Din*³ and some times *sirr al-taklif* and some times *asrar al-shari`ah*⁴. Therefore, his target is not only the Hadith but the secret meaning of *shari`ah* and the quintessence of the science of epistemology, with copious quotations from the Quran and Hadiths⁵. Which has been treated by earlier writers as *hikmah* or *faydah* either in their separate books or in the explanatory books of Hadith. Shah Waliullah Himself has indicated to writings of *Imam al-Ghazali* (d 505H / 1111) especially to the books relating to *suluk* under the chapter of *asrar al-`ibadah*,⁶ and that of *Imam Al-Khattabi* (d 388H) and *Allama Izzuddin Abdus Salam* (d 660H / 1262)⁷ which allude, at places, to the wisdom of *shari`ah*.⁸ It is mentionable here that, those books are not related to the science of Hadith exactly as well as they do not fulfill the demand of inner meanings of *shari`ah* as *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* of Shah Waliullah

¹ - Dr Ishaq, op cit , p 175

² - Hujjatullah, introduction , op cit , p 45, " في شرح أسرار الأحاديث " and p 1/391, " كتاب حجة الله " و ليس للناس من أسرار الحديث أن يتكلم " and p 43, introduction, " النالعة في علم أسرار الحديث "

³ - Ibid, introduction, p 25, " هو علم أسرار الدين "

⁴ - Ibid introduction , pp 28- 29, " الى سر التكليف والمحاررات و أسرار الشرائع المرلة " and p 44 " و رأيت أن تفاصيل أسرار الشرائع "

⁵ - Dr Ishaq, p 175

⁶ - Hujjatullah, introduction, pp 33, 38

⁷ - Ibid, introduction, p 33

⁸ - Ibid, introduction, p 26, " لكن قل من صنف فيه أو أتى بما يسمى أو يعني من حوع "

In this connection Nawab Siddiq Hasan said, "Although this book is not relating to the science of Hadith in explaining the Hadith, according to its wisdom and inner meanings, the subject is unprecedented The like of which none of the *Ulama* of *'Arab* and *'Ajam* has ever been able to produce for the last twelve hundred years"¹

Regarding the importance of the subject the Shah said, "The most delicate and deep as well as sublime and glorious aspect of the science of Hadith consists of his wisdom and rational characteristics and significance of religious injunctions By God ! the best exertions and times should be spent behind this knowledge and after obligatory worships it should be considered as the provisions for the hereafter day, by dint of this knowledge men obtain insight into the matters which the *shari'ah* has brought for them"²

However, Shah Waliullah has started the second part of his book *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* with inner meanings of Hadith³ As he has claimed it in the introduction of the book⁴ In which the Shah has given a logical and convincing exposition of the secrets and wisdom of Hadith and the method of its practical application in an excellent way

Like Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi said, "The Shah unequalled by any scholar either before or after him"⁵ While discussing on the inner meanings of Hadith he has referred to the Hadiths of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Sahih Muslim*, *Sunan Abu Dawud* and *Jami' Irmizi* basically and to other books of Hadith as complementary⁶

¹ " این کتاب اگرچه در علم حدیث نیست، اما شرح احادیث بسیار و حکم و اسرار آن بیان نموده تا که در فن خود غیر مستوفی الیه واقع شده "

² " ان اتق الصون الحديثية اسرها عدي و اعقها محدد و ارفعها مارة " Hujjatullah, introduction, pp 24- 25, و اولى العلوم الشرعية عن احدها فيما ارى و اعلاها منزلة و اعظمها مقدارا هو علم اسرار الدين الناجت عن حكم الاحكام و لمياتها و اسرار خواص الاعمال و نكاتها "

³ - Ibid, Chapter Fī Bayan Asrar Ma Ja a an al-Nabī (PBUH) p 1/392

⁴ - Ibid, introduction, p 45, " و القسم الثاني في شرح اسرار الأحاديث "

⁵ - Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit , p 138

⁶ -Hujjatullah, Chapter Asrar ma Ja a an al-Nabī, p 1/392

Section III - Categories of Books on Hadith

As a world renowned *Muhaddith* Shah Waliullah has studied the books of Hadith and its science deeply and widely and wrote many books on the subject. In his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* he devoted a chapter for discussion on the categories of books on Hadith (*Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith*). To study the bulky volumes of books on Hadith, its science, explanations, biographies of transmitters along with their different kinds and levels, arranging the materials after comparison and then categorizing them are neither simple nor easy task, but a painstaking and tremendous work. This kind of historical work in Indian sub-continent was possible only for Shah Waliullah. But we can not say that the Shah is the first scholar in the Muslim world who thought about this matter. Actually the theme and materials were available partly and scatterly in the books of science of Hadith of ancient renowned *Muhaddithin*. The Shah has studied those books minutely and concentrated the materials in a certain place and added his own views with them and exposed in his own language in brief and abridged sentences.

Generally, the scholars of science of Hadith have classified the Hadiths according to their soundness and weakness rather than the books of Hadith. They have taken the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* as the standard for measure the ranks of soundness of Hadith.

As per this system, the Hadith has seven classes.¹ As per the compiling system of the books of Hadith the experts in science of Hadith have classified the books of Hadith generally into nine classes. Those are Jami',² Musnad,³

¹ - See Imam Ibn al-Salah, op cit, p 14, Hafiz Ibn Hajar, op cit, pp 41-45, Dr al-Tahhan, op cit, pp 43-44, and also Imam Nawawi & Siyuti, p 1/123

² - Jami' The book of Hadith which includes almost chapters relating to subjects of Hadith. Like Sahih al-Bukhari and Jami al-Tirmizi (See Dr Subhi al-Salih, op cit, p 122, Dr al-Tahhan, op cit p 169)

³ - Musnad The book of Hadith which includes the transmissions of every Sahabi individually in one place apart from the subject matters of Hadith, like Musnad Ahmad, (See Hafiz Ibn Hajar p 125, Dr al-Tahhan, p 169, The Encyclopaedia of Islam, op cit, Vol 3, p 24)

Sunan,¹ 'Ilal,² Atraf,³ Mu'jam,⁴ Juz',⁵ Mustadrak⁶ and Mustakhraj.⁷

In his *Masabih al-Sunnah* Imam Muhi al-Sunnah al-Baghawi (d 510H / 1117) has classified the basic books of Hadith into two classes 'Sahih and Hasan'.⁸ He put the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* in the class of *Sahih* and placed the *Sunan Abu Dawud*, *Nasa'i*, *Tirmizi* and *Ibn Majah* in the class of *Hasan*.⁹ This system of classification of books of Hadith is unscientific and impractical, because in the four books of *Sunan* all kinds of Hadith are available, either *sahih* or *hasan* even weak also. These books do not contain only the *hasan* Hadith, as it is understood by the method of classification of Imam al-Baghawi. Therefore, it is criticized by many renowned scholars of science of Hadith.¹⁰

Egyptian famous scholar of Hadith Shaikh Ahmad Shakir (d.1377H / 1958) classified the books of Hadith according to containing large number of *sahih* Hadith in a particular book. As he said, "The mother books on Hadith are eight

¹ - Sunan The book of Hadith which has been compiled and chapterized according to fiqh or jurisprudential matters, like Sunan Abu Dawud (See Ibn Hajar, op cit , p 125, Subhi al- Salih, op cit , p 123, Al-Tahhan, op cit , p 169)

² - 'Ilal The book of Hadith which includes the Mu'allal (subtle defected) Hadiths with description of those defects, like Kitab al-'Ilal of Imam al-Daraqutni and Ibn Abi Hatim (See Ibn Hajar, p 125, Al-Tahhan, p 169)

³ - Atraf The book of Hadith which mentions the limb of every Hadith which indicates to the rest of complete Hadith As Tuhfat al-Ashraf bi Ma'arif al-Atraf of Hafiz al-Mizzi (See Ibn Hajar, p 125, Al-Tahhan, p 170)

⁴ - Mu'jam The book of Hadith which has been arranged according to the names of Shuyukh (teachers) of compiler alphabetically, like Three Mu'jams of al-Tabrani (See Subhi al- Salih, p 124-, Al- Tahhan, p 169)

⁵ - Juz' The book of Hadith which includes the transmissions of only one transmitter of Hadith or contains the Hadiths relating to only one subject particularly, like Juz' Raf' al-Yadain of Imam al-Bukhari or Musnad 'Ayisha (R.) (See Subhi al- Salih, p. 124, Al- Tahhan, p 169- 70)

⁶ - Mustadrak The book of Hadith which includes those Hadiths particularly which fulfill the conditions of another compilers of books of Hadith (like al-Bukhari and Muslim) but they did not mention those Hadiths in their own books, like Mustadrak 'ala al-Sahihain of Abu Abdullah al-Hakim (See Subhi al- Salih, p 125, Al- Tahhan, 170)

⁷ - Mustakhraj The book in which the author brings the Hadiths from other's book and transmits them by his own chain, like Mustakhraj 'ala al-Sahihain of Abu Nu'aim al-Ispahani (See Subhi al- Salih, p 125, Al- Tahhan, p 170)

⁸ - Sahih and Hasan See supra pp 211-12

⁹ - Introduction of Mishkat al-Masabih, Waliuddin al-Tabrizi, ed Shaikh Nasiruddin Albani, Damascus, 1380H / 1961, Vol 1, p d (2)

¹⁰ - Ibn al-Salah, p 18, Nawawi and Siyuti, op cit , p 1/165, Subhi al- Salih, p 161, Al- Tahhan, p 49

Musnad Ahmad, Sahih al-Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Sunan al-Darimi, Sunan Abu dawud, Sunan al-Tirmizi, Sunan al-Nasa'i and *Sunan Ibn Majah*. After these books *Muwatta Imam Malik* and *Musnad Abu Dawud al-Taialisi* (d.204H.) are mentionable.¹ It is worthy of mention here that Shah Waliullah Dihlawi also mentioned those above said eight scholars of Hadith as leading *Muhaddithin*.²

Imam Ibn Hazm (d.456H./1064) has classified the books on Hadith according to their including sound and weak and connected or disconnected chains (*sanad*) as well as containing the Hadith of Prophet or other's opinions. As per his classification there are four categories of books on Hadith, Those are :

1st Category: The most respected books of Hadith are *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* then *Sahih* of Ibn al-Sakan and *Muntaqa* of Ibn al-Jarud and *Muntaqa* of Qasim Ibn al-Asbagh.

2nd category: Books of *Abu Dawud, Nasa'i, Tahawi, Musnad Ahmad, Musnad Ishaq bin Rahwayhi* and *Musnad Ali Ibn al-Madini* and other books which analogous to them in transmitting and including the Hadith of Prophet rather than others' speeches.³ Ibn Hazm did not mention the *Jami' al-Tirmizi* and *Sunan Ibn Majah* here, because he did not see them and those books did not enter into Spain in the life time of Ibn Hazm.⁴

3rd category: Those books which include the Hadiths of the Prophet along with others' speeches like the *athar* of *Sahaba* and the legal opinions of *Tabi'in* and their followers as well as their inferences, like *Musannaf Abdur Razzaq* and *Musannaf Baqi Ibn Makhlad* etc.

¹ - Miftah Kunuz al-Sunnah, op cit , introduction, op cit , p 23

² - Musaffa Sharh Muwatta, introduction, op cit , p 6, "رؤس محدثين مثل أحمد وبخاري ... وابن ماجه..."

³ - Hafiz Abu Abdullah al-Zahabi, Tazkirat al-Huffaz, op cit , Vol 3, p 1153

⁴ - Hafiz al-Zahabi, Siyar A'lam al-Nubala, ed Shu'aib al-Arnaut, Muassasat al-Risalah, Beirut, 1412H/1992, Vol 18, pp 202-3

4th Category: In this category *Musannaf Sa'id bin Mansur, Muwatta Imam Malik Masail Ahmad bin Hunbal* etc.¹

After this briefing about the system of classification of other scholars we are going to discuss the categorization of books on Hadith made by Shah Waliullah.

Reason for categorization: Regarding the categorization of the books on Hadith the Shah stated, "Be informed that there is no way for us to obtain knowledge of the divine laws and the rulings except through the report of the Prophet, in contrast to the case of the welfare purposes, for these may be understood through experiences, true reflection, surmisal and so on. There is also no way for us to have knowledge of the sayings of the Prophet (PBUH), except by receiving reports which go back to him by successive links and transmission, whether they are in his (PBUH) words; or they are interrupted Hadiths (*mauquf*) whose transmission was verified by a group of the companions of the Prophet and the successors, in so far as they were remote from taking the initiative to decide on something like that there were not a proof text or sign from the law-giver. An example of this is transmitting an indication (*dalalah*) from him (PBUH). In these days there is no way to receive these reports except to follow the compiled books on Hadith,² for today there is not to be found any report which is reliable unless it is written down. The books on Hadith are of different categories and at various levels and it is necessary to recognize their ranks."³

¹ - Tazkirat al- Huffaz, op cit , p 3/1153, Siyar A'lam al- Nubala, op cit , pp 18/202- 3

² - Shah Waliullah has transmitted 40 transmissions from the Prophet based upon the dreams and visions and named the book *Al-Durr al- Thamin fi Mubashshrat al-Nabi al- Amin* (See the brief remarks about the book in chapter II, section V, pp 68-69) According to the above said statement of the Shah these transmissions are not acceptable as Hadith, because these are not transmitted from compiled books

³ - Hujjatullah al- Baligha, Chapter . *Tabaqat Kutub al- Hadith*, op cit , p 1/320 , " اعلم أنه لا سبيل لنا الى معرفة الشرائع و الأحكام الا خبر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم..... و تلقى تلك الروايات لا سبيل اليه في يومنا هذا الا تتبع الكتب المدونة في علم الحديث، فانه لا يوجد اليوم رواية يعتمد عليها غير مدونة، و كتب الحديث على طبقات مختلفة و منازل متباعدة، فوجب الاعتناء بمعرفة طبقات كتب الحديث."

A contemporary Arabian scholar of Science of Hadith, Prof Dr Subhi al-Salih has supported the Shah Waliullah's reasoning for ranking the books on Hadith and advised the reader to study the classification done by him¹ With reference to the *Musaffa* of the Shah, A D Muztar has given a misinformation about the reason for categorization made by the Shah. As he said, "The question of giving preference to a collection of Hadith over others caused him worries"² Actually the Shah was worried due to disagreement among the *mazhabs* of *fiqh*, then he came out with an answer *Muwatta* of Imam Malik."³ Shah Waliullah's this statement is not related with the reason for classification of books on Hadith.

Basis of Categorization : Shah Waliullah has classified the books on Hadith according to the soundness (*sihhah*) and reputation (*shuhrah*).

Regarding the soundness the Shah said, "Thus the soundness resides in the compiler of the book having made a condition for himself the citing of what is sound (*sahih*) and good (*hasan*),⁴ not transposed (*maqlub*),⁵ anomalous (*shaz*), or weak, unless he provides an accompanying explanation of its status; for citing the weak Hadith together with an explanation of its status would not detract from the book."⁶

Regarding the reputation the Shah said, "The reputation (of books on Hadith) consists of the Hadiths cited in them being current among the Hadith experts before their being recorded as well as after, and that the leading scholars (*Imams*) of Hadith even before the compiler used to narrate them by multiple chains of transmission and present them in their compilations and collections of

¹ - 'Ulum al-Hadith wa Mustalahuhu, op cit , pp 105, 116- 17

² - Shah Wali Allah - A Saint Scholar, op cit , p 97

³ - Musaffa, introduction, p 3, infra, Chapter VI, Section I, p 269

⁴ - Sahih and Hasan See supra , p 211- 12

⁵ - Maqlub When there will be any transposition in a Hadith either in its text (matn) or in its chain (sanad) called maqlub (See Ibn al- Salah, op cit , pp 48- 49, Ibn Hajar, op cit , pp 72-75, Al-Tahhan, pp 107- 9

⁶ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, op cit , p 1/321

Hadith. Scholars coming after the compiler should have been devoted to transmitting the book, memorizing it, clarifying its obscurities (*mushkil*), elucidating its uncommon hard words (*gharib*), analyzing them grammatically (*i`rab*), sorting out the chains of transmission of its Hadiths, inferring its juristic significance and seeking information about the biographical circumstances of the transmitters, generation after generation, until our present time, so that there does not remain anything connected with it which is not investigated, except what Allah wills. The Hadith critics both before the compiler and after him agreed to cite its Hadiths, judged them to be sound, were satisfied with the opinion of the author on them, and accepted his book with praise and appreciation. The leading figures of jurisprudence continued to derive rulings from its Hadiths and relied on them, and devoted attention to them, and the general public also continues to believe in and honour them.¹

Like Shah Waliullah the earlier greatest *Muhaddithun* have taken the reputation (*shuhrah*) into account. Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal (d.241H./855) said about his *Musnad*, "I intended in the *Musnad* the reputed Hadith."² Contemporary Egyptian scholar of Hadith Professor Abdul Wahhab Abdul Latif also has given importance to the reputation with the soundness.³

Number of categories: Based upon the above mentioned two basic qualities (soundness and reputation), Shah Waliullah has classified the books on Hadith basically into four classes,⁴ then he added a fifth class with them as complementary.⁵

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, op cit , p 1/321

² - Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal said, "قصدت في المسند الحديث المشهور", Al-Musnad lil-Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal, ed & explanation Shaikh Ahmad Shakir, Dar al-Ma'arif, Egypt, 1368H /1949, introduction, Vol I, p 57, Musnad al-Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal, ed , sorting out of chains & annotation Shua'ib al- Arnaut and others, Supervision Dr Abdullah bin Abdul Muhsin Turkey, Muassasat al-Risalah, Beirut, 14020H /1999, introduction, Vol I, pp 71, 77

³ - See Tadirib al-Rawi, op cit , foot note, p 1/171

⁴ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, p I/ 320, " فنقول هي باعتبار الصحة و الشهرة على أربع طبقات.

⁵ - Ibid, p I/325, " ههنا طبقة خامسة.

First Category : When above said two virtues (*sihah and shuhrah*) are perfectly combined in a book it is of the first rank, and so on and so forth, and if these are completely absent it would not be considered at all. Those at the highest degree of the first rank must reach the degree of multiple chains of transmission going back to the Prophet (*tawatur*),¹ and those beneath must attain the degree of being well known (*istifadha*)², and next is the degree of absolute soundness (*sihah qat'iyah*), by which I mean that it is absolute with full confidence through the science of Hadith that it is "suitable for giving knowledge" (*mufid lil-'ilm*).³ After minutely investigating it has been proved that the first category is confined to three books, *Muwatta* of Malik, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*.⁴

In some copies of *Hujjatullah Al-Baligha* the sentence "suitable for being acted upon" (*mufid lil-'amal*) in place of "suitable for giving knowledge" is available.⁵ According to the almost *Muhaddithin* every Hadith does not reach the stage of *mutawatir* are *khavar wahid*.⁶ Therefore, *mustafidh*, *mashhur* and the others are *khavar wahid*, and those are absolutely sound and give absolute knowledge according to Shah Waliullah. Dr. Mazhar Baqa said that the Shah means by absoluteness (*qat'*) the strong conception which gives the benefit for doing action.⁷

As for this researcher, Dr. Mazhar Baqa's statement requires revision. Because the word absoluteness (*qat'i*) usually is not used with action (*'amal*) but generally is used with knowledge (*'ilm*). Secondly, when the Shah discussed on the 2nd category of books on Hadith he mentioned the word 'conceptual' (*zanniyah*) also

¹ - Tawatur or Mutwatir See supra, Chapter V, Section, II, pp 207-209

² - Istifadha or Mustafidh See supra, Chapter V, Section II, pp 209- 10.

³ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, p 1/321, " أعني القطع المأخوذ في علم الحديث المفيد للعلم."

⁴ - Ibid, p 1/ 321, " فالمطبقة الأولى منحصرة بالاستقراء في ثلاثة كتب: الموطأ و صحيح البخاري و صحيح مسلم."

⁵ - Copy with Urdu translation of `Abdul Haq Haqqani, op cit , p 1/331, copy with Urdu translation of Mufti Sa'id Palanpuri, op cit , p 2/495

⁶ - Ibn Hajar, Nuzhat al-Nazar, op cit , pp 32- 33, Dr al- Tahhan, p 22

⁷ - Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah, op cit , p 276 , " اس سے ظن قوی ہی مراد ہے "

after mentioning the absolute sound (*ṣiḥḥah qat'iyah*) by using conjunction 'or' (أو) This proves that the difference between absoluteness (*qat'i*) and conceptual (*ẓanni*) is very clear lexically and practically. Then for dividing between the two kinds we should say that the first category specially the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* give knowledge, not conception, as it is the opinion of many *Muḥaddithīn*. Thirdly, when Shah Waliullah mentioned *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* as the books of first category said that all Hadiths of these books which go back to the Prophet (*marfū'*) with connected chains (*mutṭasil*) are absolutely sound.¹ So, the absolutely sound Hadith will give absolute knowledge. Fourthly, according to almost scholars, every kind of sound Hadith beneficial for doing action,² even speculative knowledge also gives the benefit for obligating the action.³ Then to distinguish between the two kinds we have to say that the Shah's opinion on first category specially on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* that those are beneficial for giving knowledge not only for action, as it has been said by Imam Ibn al-Salah (d.642H./1244) and Hafiz Ibn Hajar (d.852H./1449).⁴ Fifthly, In another place the Shah said, "*ḵabar waḥid* combined with evidences is beneficial for absolute knowledge (*yaqīn*)."⁵ The non-*mutwāṭir* Hadith of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* are combined with evidences, like the majesty of Imam Bukhari and Muslim, their supremacy in discriminating between sound and weak and acceptance their books (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim*) by the *Ummah* with full faith and admiration. These are strong documents that the certain knowledge should be obtained from them.⁶

A group of renowned *Muḥaddithīn* and *Fuqaha* said that if the transmitters of *ḵabar waḥid* are trustworthy in every stage from first to last it is useful for absolute knowledge. Among those scholars Imam Dawud al-Zahiri (d.270H./884)

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter *Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith*, op cit , pp I/322- 23

² - Ibn Hajar, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, op cit , p 34, "انهم متفقون على وجوب العمل بكل ما صح", *Usul al-Bazdawī* op cit , p 2/370, "و هذا يوجب العمل ولا يوجب العلم يقينا."

³ - Ibn al-Salah, p op. cit , 14, "... يجب عليهم العمل بالظن..."

⁴ - Ibid, p 14, "... أقوى في افادة العلم.", Ibn Hajar, p 33, "جميعه مقطوع بصحته و العلم اليقيني النظري واقع به."

⁵ - *Izalat al-Khafa*, op cit , pp. 2/214-15, Dr Mazhar Baqa, op cit , pp 275- 76

⁶ - Ibn Hajar, p 33, Ibn al-Salah, pp 14-15

Al-Haris al-Muhasibi (243H./857) and Imam Ibn Hazm (d.454H./1064).¹ Imam Ibn Taimiyah said that according to almost *Usuliyun* of Hanafite, Shafi'ite and Hunbali the *khbar wahid* if accepted by the nation with approval and practice it would benefit for knowledge (*'ilm*).² And this is the preferred opinion of common Hunbali.³

According to the science of Hadith every *mustafidh* or *mashhur* Hadith is not sound and these are not the classes of sound Hadith. The *mustafidh* or *mashhur* may be sound (*sahih*) or good (*hasan*) or even weak (*dha'if*) according to the conditions of their transmitters. If the transmitters of those Hadiths are trustworthy (*thiqah*) then those are accepted and will be preferred to the *'aziz* and *gharib* types of Hadith. Because this classification (*mustafidh*, *mashhur*, *'aziz* and *gharib*) has been made according to the number of transmitters in the chain of Hadith only not according to the quality of them, on which the sound Hadith is basically depended.⁴ In this connection Al-Hakim al-Nisapuri (d.378H/1014CE) said that the soundness is not recognized by transmission only but by the quality of transmitters.⁵ In this place the Shah has mixed up the two different systems of quality and quantity with each other.

On the other hand Shah Waliullah's system of classification of first and second category is similar to the classification of Imam al-Baghawi (d.510H./1117)⁶ in some points and dissimilar in other aspects. Imam al-Baghawi classified the books on Hadith into two classes as *sahih* and *hasan* and confined the *sahih* to two books, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* and he was silent about the *Muwatta*.⁷ But

¹ - Al-Ba'ith al-Hathith, op cit, pp 35-36

² - Usul Mazhab al-Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal, Dr Abdullah bin Abdul Muhsin al-Turkey, Muassasat al-Risalah, Beirut, 1416H/1996, p 274

³ - Ibid, p 283

⁴ - Ibn al-Salah, op cit, pp 134-137, Ibn Hajar, op cit, pp 32-33, Al-Tahhan, op cit, p 25

⁵ - Al-Hakim al-Nisapuri, Ma'rifat 'Ulum al-Hadith, ed & annotation by Dr Sayid Mu'azzam Husain, Dairat al-Ma'arif al-Uthmaniya, Deccan, 1385H/1966, p 114

⁶ - See supra, 226.

⁷ - See supra, 226

Shah Waliullah confined the *Sahih* to three books, *Muwatta Imam Malik*, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim*.¹ Imam al-Baghawi mentioned the *Sunan Abu Dawud*, *Tirmizi*, *Nasa'i* and *Ibn Majah* in *hasan* category², but the Shah considered them (without mentioning *Ibn Majah*) as mixed with *Sahih and hasan*. Moreover, he did not speak about consistence of weak Hadiths in these books.³ We have discussed earlier that the classification of the books on Hadith as *sahih* and *hasan* is unscientific and impractical.⁴

In support of his placing the *Muwatta* in the first class Shah Waliullah has presented many arguments in his many books. The matter is complicated and controversial and there are different opinions of `Arab and non-`Arab scholars on this subject. We shall discuss the matter elaborately in the separate chapter entitled Shah Waliullah's work on *Muwatta* of Imam Malik by the grace of Allah.⁵

Regarding the another two books of first category, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* the Shah said, "The Hadith scholars agreed that all of the uninterrupted Hadith going back to Prophet (PBUH) in them are certainly sound, and that the (contents of) the two books reached their compilers in multiply-transmitted connected chains (*mutawatir*) and that whoever holds them contempt is an innovator in religion who is not following the path of the believers. If you wish the clear truth compare them with the book of Ibn Abi Shaiba (d. 262H./849) and the book of Tahawi (d.321H./933) and the *Musnad* of al-Khawarizimi (d.1257) and between these two (*Sahih al-Bukhari and Muslim*) and the others you find

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit , p.I/321

² - See supra, p 226

³ - Hujjatullah, p 1/ 320 , "ثم ما صحّ أو حسن سنده", also see ibid, pp 1/323-24

⁴ - See supra, p 226

⁵ - See infra, Chapter VI, Section I, pp 256- 69.

the distance between the East and the West.¹ Shah Waliullah has given a clear declaration about *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* in his above mentioned statement

Almost *Muhaddithun* are with him in this kind of opinion Like Imam Ibn al-Salah (d.642H./1244),² Imam al-Nawawi (d.676H.1277),³ Hafiz Abul Fadhl bin Tahir al-Maqdisi (d.507H/1113),⁴ Hafiz Abu Bakr al-Hazimi(d.584H.),⁵ Hafiz al-'Iraqi, (d.806H.)⁶ Hafiz Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d.852H./1449),⁷ Allama Badruddin al-'Ayni (d.855H./1451),⁸ Mulla 'Alī al-Qari,(d.1014H./1606)⁹ Shaikh Ahmad Muhammad Shakir (d.1377H./ 1958)¹⁰ and others.

Maulana 'Ubaidullah Sindhi while discussing the Shah's attitude towards *Sahih al-Bukhari* said that he (Sindhi) was facing some doubtful matters and difficulties in *Sahih al-Bukhari*.¹¹ Then Maulana Sindhi with reference to Hafiz Ibn Hajar without mentioning the name of book said that there were forty Hadiths in *Sahih al-Bukhari* about which Ibn Hajar had written that those were disputed, and there was no answer to those objections.¹²

Actually Shah Waliullah is staying in opposite place of Maulana 'Ubaidullah Sindhi and he did not present any objection to any Hadith of *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

¹ - Hujjatullah, op cit , pp 1/ 322- 23, "و لما للصحیحان فقد اتفق المحدثون على ان جميع ما فيهما من المتصل المرفوع صحيح ، بالقطع وانهما متواتران الى مصنفيهما" و انه كل من يهون امرهما فهو مبتدع متبع غير سبيل المؤمنين ، وان شئت الحق الصراح فقسهما بكتاب ابن ابي شيبة وكتاب الطحاوي ومسنند الخوارزمي و غيرهما تجد بينهما وبينهما بعد المشرقين "

² - Muqaddimah Ibn al- Salah, op cit , p 10

³ - Tadrib al-Rawi Sharh Taqrib al-Nawawi, op cit , pp 1/88, Hadiy al-Sari Muqaddimah Fath al-Bari, Dar al-Rayan lil-Turath, Cairo, 1407H /1986, p 364

⁴ -Hafiz Abul Fadhl bin Tahir al-Maqdisi, Shurut al-Ayimmah al-Sittah, Annotation by Shaikh Muhammad Zahid al-Kauthari, Maktaba al-Qudsi, Cairo, 1357H , pp 10-13

⁵ -Hafiz Abu Bakr al-Hazimi, Shurut al-Ayimmah al-Khamsah, Annotation by Shaikh Zahid al-Kauthari, Maktaba al-Qudsi, 1357H , pp 43,48-52

⁶ - Al- Taqiid wal-Idhah, op cit , p 29

⁷ -Hadiy al-Sari Muqaddimah Fath al-Bari, pp 364- 65, Nuzhat al-Nazar, op cit , pp 33-34, 43-44

⁸ - 'Umdat al- Qari Sharh Sahih al- Bukhari, op cit, pp 23-24, 27

⁹ - Mirqat al-Mafatih Sharh Mishkat al-Masabih, Majlis Isha'at al-Ma'arif, Multan, n d ,introduction, p 16

¹⁰ - Al- Ba'ith al- Hathith, op cit , p 35

¹¹ - Imam Waliullah Dihlawi ki Hikmat ka Ijmali Ta'aruf, Al-Furqan Journal, Waliullah no op cit, pp 300- 302, " اس کے بعد شکوک پیدا ہوتا سمجھنا مشکل ہوتا گیا....." صحیح بخاری میں اشکالات کیا ہے ؟

¹² - Ibid, p 300, " جن چالیس حدیثوں پر ابن حجر نے جرح لکھا ہے اس جرح کا کوئی جواب نہیں پرتا....." "

Hafiz Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani did not mention in any place of his any book that there were forty Hadiths disputed in *Sahih al-Bukhari* answer to which was impossible or difficult Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that Imam al-Daraqutni (d 385H) and some other *Muhaddithun* had raised question about 110 Hadiths of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and that was not right. Then he answered to those questions perfectly and eliminated the objections one by one within 124 pages of his *Hadiy al-Sari Muqaddimah Fath al-Bari* and proved that those Hadiths were also sound¹ Therefore, Maulana Sindhi's claim in this regard is baseless

Not only Ibn Hajar answered to the objections but the opinion of Imam Ibn al-Salah,² Imam al-Nawawi³ 'Allama Badruddin al-'Ayni⁴ and others⁵ is that the objections of Imam al-Daraqutni and others are not worthy. Imam Bukhari himself stated, "I did not transmit in this book except which had been proved sound"⁶ Shah Waliullah has recognized that Imam Bukhari had fulfilled his condition in his book *Al-Jami` al-Sahih*.⁷

There is a remarkable point here that Shah Waliullah regarding the absolute sound Hadith of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* has mentioned only those which chains were connected and going back to the Prophet" (*muttasil marfu`*) not others The Shah as a talented and well-versed *Muhaddith* did not forget that the disconnected and non-*marfu`* Hadiths existing in *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* which are

¹ - Hadiy al-Sari Muqaddimah Fath al-Bari, op cit, pp 364- 488, (See also Nuzhat al-Nazar, op cit, pp 43-44)

² - Muqaddimah fi 'Ulum al-Hadith, op cit, pp 14-15

³ - Hadiy al-Sari, p 364, Imam al-Nawawi said, "ذلك الطعن مبني على قواعد لبعض المحدثين ضعيفة جدا مخالفة لما عليه الجمهور ... فلا تغتر بذلك."

⁴ - 'Umdat al-Qari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, introduction, op cit, p 27, "في الصحيح جماعة جرحهم بعض المتقدمين، و هو محمول على أنه لم يثبت جرحهم بشرطه..."

⁵ - Faith al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, Anwar Shah al-Kashmiri, Arranged & ed by Badr Meeruti, Matba` al-Hijazi, Cairo, 1357H, introduction p 57, "ان الدارقطني تتبع على البخاري... و شأن البخاري أرفع من ذلك..."

⁶ - Hadiy al-Sari, p 9, "لم أخرج في هذا الكتاب الا صحيحا."

⁷ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Al-Farq baina Ahl al-Hadith wa Ashab al-Rai, op cit, p 364, "فصنف جامعته الصحيح و وفى بما شرط"

commonly known as *mu`allaqat*¹, are not equal in being sound and the `Ulama have different opinions on them, as they are unanimous in the soundness of connected *marfu`* Hadiths included in the both books. The number of those *mu`allaqs* as counted by Ibn Hajar `Asqalani are 195.² Hafiz Ibn Hajar `Asqalani has written a large book in this subject named *Taghliq al-Ta`liq*.³

There is another notable thing here, that is Shah Waliullah's attitude towards the *Sharh Ma`ani al-Athar* of Imam al-Tahawi as it is a low standard book in comparison with *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim*. As for some scholars, it has a good position according to its including huge chained Hadiths.⁴ The Shah might have tried to draw the attention of the conventionalist rigid `Ulama who usually collect their documents from this book in presence of sound Hadiths of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* with their full knowledge that many Hadiths of the *Tahawi* are not sound. The Shah has mentioned the *Tahawi* in third category.⁵

Regarding the *Mustadrak* of *Al-Hakim Nisapuri* (d.378H/1014), the Shah has given a clear and brilliant statement on it briefly in a suitable place. Based upon the claim of Imam al-Hakim that he has brought up the sound Hadiths in his *Mustadrak* according to the terms and conditions of Imam Bukhari and Muslim, may someone wrongly think that this book is totally sound and it has the right to be included in the first category on the books of Hadith. Shah has rejected that possibility and said, "Al-Hakim supplemented the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim*

¹ - Mu`allaq or Ta`liq That Hadith of the Prophet or the speech of Sahabi or Tabi i which is narrated directly from them without mentioning the chain of transmission. Mu`allaqs of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* have been narrated by active and passive voices. If the Mu`allaqs narrated in active voices or emphasized sentences those were undoubtedly sound, meanwhile, if narrated in passive voices then there are different opinions of Muhaddithin according to their different conditions (See Ibn al- Salah, pp 12-13, Ibn Hajar, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, op cit , pp 58- 59, Hadiyah al- Sari Muqaddimah *Fath al-Bari*, pp 12, 19-21, Nawawi & Siyuti, op cit , pp 1/117-121

² - Hadiyah al- Sari, op cit , p 501

³ - *Taghliq al- Ta`liq* It has been studied as Doctoral Thesis by Sa'eed `Abdur Rahman al- Qazfi, Dept of Hadith, Cairo University, Egypt and Published from Al- Maktab al- Islami, Beirut, in 1405H/1985, in 5 Volumes , 1820 pgs

⁴ - See *infra*, p 250

⁵ - See *infra*, p 249

with Hadiths which met the conditions of those two books, whereas they did not mention them in their books I traced back what he had supplemented then found that he was correct from one aspect and incorrect in another This is because he found Hadiths reported from the transmitters cited by the two *Shaikhs* (Bukhari and Muslim), conforming to their criteria of soundness and reaching to the Prophet (PBUH), through uninterrupted lines of transmission, thus he oriented his supplementation both of them according to this aspect But the two *Shaikhs* did not cite a Hadith unless their teachers had discussed it among themselves and agreed to report it and declare it authentic "¹ He further said, "However, Bukhari and Muslim do not cite much of what Al-Hakim does " "² In view of the above the *Mustadrak* of Al-Hakim has lost its quality of first category Imam Ibn al-Salah has drawn the attention to the slackness of al-Hakim in judgement on the soundness of Hadith in his *Mustadrak*³ and the scholars of science of Hadith followed him in giving same opinion ⁴

Second category : Regarding the second category the Shah said, " The books which do not attain the rank of the *Muwatta* and two *Sahih*s (Bukhari and Muslim), but which are next after them Their authors were well-known for their reliability, integrity, memory and being deeply immersed in the laws of Hadith, and in their books they were not satisfied to be lax about whatever they had set as conditions for themselves Therefore, those after them accepted these books as sound, and the Hadith scholars and legal experts paid attention to them, generation after generation, and these books achieved a reputation among people Some people were devoted to explaining their uncommon hard words (*gharib*), investigating the transmitters, and making inferences about their juristic significance And upon these Hadiths are based the general Hadith sciences The example of this category is *Sunan Abu Dawud*, *Jami` al-Tirmizi* and *Al-Muyatba al-Nasa`i* The *Musnad* of Imam

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, op cit , p 1/323

² - Ibid, p 1/323

³ - Muqaddimah fi Ulum al- Hadith, op cit , p 11

⁴ - Al-Nawawi & al-Siyuti, pp 1/105-7, Hafiz al- Iraqi, op cit , pp 33- 34, Abdur Rahman Mubarakpuri Tuhfat al- Ahwazi Sharh al-Tirmizi, introduction, op cit , pp 125- 28, Dr al- Tahhan, op cit , pp 39-40

Ahmad almost as good as to the group of second category¹ The second category comes close to the degree of '*istifadhah*' or either 'certain soundness' or 'conjectural soundness', and thus, the matter descends.²

The Shah has used the sentence very carefully about the *Musnad Ahmad*, which leads us to understand that he did not consider the *Musnad* fully suitable to the second category, although it is very nearer to this rank. Many scholars of Hadith like *Ibn al-Salah* and *Al-Nawawi* have clearly declared that all *Musnads* along with the *Musnad Ahmad* would not be included in the category of five basic books (*Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, Tirmizi* and *Nasa'i*).³

In support of his opinion the Shah said, "Because Imam Ahmad (d.241H./ 855) made his book a basis for discriminating the sound and the false, and he said, "Do not accept what is not in it (my *Musnad*)."⁴ In another place the Shah said, "Imam Ahmad made his *Musnad* a standard by which the Hadith of Prophet would be recognized. Thus, whichever Hadith is found in it even if by one chain surely it has root, and if not, it has no root."⁵ Shah Abdul 'Aziz with reference to his father, Shah Waliullah said that the *Musnad Ahmad* was the book of second category to that *Faqir* (Shah Waliullah).⁶ He further stated that according to his father the weak Hadiths of *Musnad Ahmad* were near about to the rank of *hasan*⁷

Regarding the quotation of Shah Waliullah from Ahmad bin Hunbal, "Do not accept what is not in it (*Musnad*). "Hafiz al-'Iraqi said that this opinion was not suitable to all Hadiths in *Musnad Ahmad* but it was suitable to some specific

¹ - Hujjatullah, op cit , pp 1/323-24 " الطبقة الثانية كتب وكاد مسند أحمد يكون من جملة هذه الطبقة.... "

² - Ibid, p 1/321

³ - Muqaddimah fi 'Ulum al- Hadith, op cit , pp 18- 19, Tadrib al-Rawi, op cit , pp 1/171-72

⁴ - Hujjatullah, p 1/324 " قال ما ليس فيه فلا تقبلوه. "

⁵ - Ibid, Chapter Al- Farq baina Ahl al- Hadith wa Ashab al- Rai, p 1/359

⁶ - Shah Abdul 'Aziz , 'Ujala -i- Nafi'ah m'a, Aannotation by Abdul Hamid Chisti, op cit , p 4 " مسند " أحمد نزل فقير از بن طبقه ثانيه است. "

⁷ - Shah Abdul Aziz, Fi ma Yajibul Hifzuhi lil- Nazir, with Al- Irshad of Shah Waliullah, op cit . p 1 " فان الضعيف الذي يوجد فيها يقرب من الحسن " .

Hadiths When Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal was asked about the particular Hadith he answered, "Look this Hadith at the *Musnad*, if it is available then it is documentable unless not"¹ After this clarification another problem is remaining, that is, there are some sound Hadiths which are not available in the *Musnad* but available in other books on Hadith. One of those Hadiths has been transmitted by *Imam Bukhari* and *Muslim* but that is not available in *Musnad Ahmad*, like the famous Hadith of *Umm Zar`* (أم زرع),² then how it is said that every Hadith is not found in the *Musnad* of Ahmad is not documentable? Moreover, there are many weak and very weak Hadiths are available in the *Musnad*. Besides this many transmissions (10 thousand) have been added to this book by his son Abdullah bin Ahmad in which weak and false Hadiths are available.³

Imam `Abdur Rahman Ibn al-Jawzi (d.597H./1201) claims that there are fifteen Hadiths in the *Musnad* are false.⁴ But after minutely investigation it is proved that no false Hadith is available in *Musnad Ahmad*.⁵ Imam Ibn Taimiyah (d.728H./1328) said that there was no liar transmitter in *Musnad Ahmad* but mistakens and weak memorezers were available in it as they were in the *Sunans* also.⁶ Hafiz al-Zahabi (d.748H./1347) stated that a large number of weak Hadiths were existing in the *Musnad* which may be transmitted but should not be used as argument. There are small number of very weak Hadiths are available in it which are as like as false Hadiths.⁷ Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that there were many weak Hadiths and very small number of false Hadiths were available in *Musnad Ahmad*.⁸ Imam Ibn Hazm (d.456H./1064) also mentioned the *Musnad* in second

¹ - Al- Taqiid wal- Iidhah of Hafiz al-`Iraqi, op cit , pp 57, Musnad al- Imam Ahmad, Supervision, Dr al-Turkey, op cit , introduction, pp 76- 77

² - Sahih al- Bukhari, Nikah, no 5189, Muslim, Fadhail al- Sahabah, no 6255

³ - Hafiz al- `Iraqi, pp 57- 58, Siyuty, op cit , pp 1/172-73

⁴ - Siyuti, pp 1/278-281, Subhi al- Salih, op cit , p 124, Abdur Rahman Mubarakpuri, op cit , introduction, p 147, Musnad al- Imam Ahmad, introduction, p 81

⁵ - Siyuti, pp 1/278-81, Subhi al- Salih, p 124, Mubarakpuri, introduction, p 147, Dr al-Turkey, ibid, p 81

⁶ - Al- Tawassul wal- Wasilah, ed Shaikh Muhammad Rashid Ridha, Egypt, 1327, p 95

⁷ - Siyar A lam al- Nubala, op cit , p 11/329

⁸ - Al- Qaul al-Musaddad fi al-Zabb `an Musnad al-Imam Ahmad, anotation, Qadhi Muhammad Sibghatullah Madrasi, Dairat al-Ma`arif al-Uthmaniya, Deccan, 1386H /1967, pp 3-4

category,¹ but his categorization was according to connected chains of Hadith not according to soundness and reputation as it was the condition of Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah's opinion on the *Musnad* is partially similar to the opinion of Ibn Taimiyah and Ibn Hazm, but they did not say that the weak Hadiths of the *Musnad* had reached the stage of *hasan* as it had been said by the Shah. Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal himself said, "I intended in the *Musnad* what is famous, I would not oppose the weak if there is nothing in this matter which repel it."² Imam Ibn al- Jawzi narrated that Imam Ahmad had transmitted in his *Musnad* which was famous, he had intended neither sound nor weak.³

If we look at the volumes of *Musnad Ahmad* and its Hadiths as edited by Shaikh Ahmad Shakir(d.1377H./1958)⁴ and another one supervised by Dr. `Abdullah al-Turkey⁵ with the association of Shaikh Shu'aib al-Arnaut and others we see that hundred of weak and very weak Hadiths are available in this book and they have proved it practically. The latest publication of *Musnad Ahmad* under the supervision of Dr. al-Turkey of which 30 volumes are available which included 14,712 Hadiths (out of total Hadiths 30,000+10,000⁶ = 40,000) shows that there are near about two thousand Hadiths have been proved weak and very weak. There is no doubt in it that the *Musnad Ahmad* is the greatest collection and an encyclopedic book and reference in Hadith and it has gained the reputation and acceptance of all scholars of Hadith and *fiqh*, but it is not free from a large number of weak and very weak Hadiths.

¹ - Tazkirat al- Huffaz, op cit , p 3/115, Siyar A'lam al-Nubala, p 18/202

² - Musnad al- Imam Ahmad, introduction, Dr al- Turkey, op cit , pp 70, 77, Musnad lil- Imam Ahmad, introduction, Ahmad Shakir, op cit , p 57, "قصدت في المسند المشهور، لست أخالف ما ضعف إذا لم يكن، في الباب ما يدفعه."

³ - Ibid, (Al-Turkey) p 77, (Ahmad Shakir), p 57 respectively

⁴ - Published by Dar al- Ma`arif, Egypt, ed 3, 1368H /1949,(incomplete)

⁵ - Former V C of Imam Muhammad bin Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, and then Minister for Islamic Affairs and then the counselor of the King of Saudi Arabia

⁶ - 10,000 Hadiths were included in the Musnad Ahamad by his son Abdullah bin Ahmad bin Hunbal

After this discussion we may say - with full respect to Shah Waliullah - that placing the *Musnad Ahmad* in the second category or very nearer to it is a matter of review, consequently argumentation by controversial and self contradictory references is also not free from the question

Position of Sunan Ibn Majah. A reasonable question is arising here that what is the position of *Sunan Ibn Majah* in view of Shah Waliullah? Why he did not mention it in any category of books on Hadith? Is it not one of the six mother books (الأمهات الست)¹ on Hadith in consideration of Shah Waliullah?

The scholars of Hadith have different opinions on including the *Sunan Ibn Majah* in the five or six² basic books on Hadith. A large number of 'Ulama have included it in the group of six basic books on Hadith. Hafiz Abul Fadhl bin Tahir al-Maqdisi (d 507H / 1113) added the *Sunan Ibn Majah* to another five mother books for the first time³. He has written a book named *Shurut al-Ayimmah al-Sittah* (Conditions of six leaders of Hadith), in which he included *Sunan Ibn Majah* as a sixth of six basic books. The compiling system of *Masabih al-Sunnah* of Imam al-Baghawi (d 510H / 1117) and *Bulugh al-Maram* of Hafiz Ibn Hajar⁴ clearly shows that they consider the *Ibn Majah* one of the six basic books on Hadith, although

¹ - Six mother books (Ummahat) The six books of Hadith, Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, Tirmizi, Nasa'i and Ibn Majah combinedly known as al-Sihah al-Sittah, al-Kutub al-Sittah, al-Usul al-Sittah as well as al-Ummahat al-Sitt. And when Muhaddithun say "The group has transmitted" (رواه الجماعة) means the above mentioned six leaders of Hadith (Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Al-Hatthah fi Zikr al-Sihah al-Sittah, Matba Nizami, Kanpur, 1283H, p 110). Sahih al-Bukhari and Muslim are unanimously sound, whereas other four have been included with them although there are some weak Hadiths available in them (Dr Subhi al-Salih, op cit, pp 118-19, Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Abjad al-Ulum, Al-Matba ah al-Siddiqiyah, Bhupal, 1296H, pp 483-84).

² - The Muhaddithun have different opinions on whether the sound/basic books on Hadith five or six, and then the fifth or sixth of them is the Ibn Majah or the Muwatta.

³ - Hafiz Abul Fadhl al-Maqdisi, *Shurut al-Ayimmah al-Sittah*, op cit, p 8, Al-Siyuti, *Tadrib al-Rawi*, op cit, p 1/102, Prof Abdul Wahab Abdul Latif, Annotation on *Iadrib al-Rawi*, p 1/171, Imam al-Shaukani, *Nail al-Autar Sharh Muntaqa al-Akhbar*, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, 1403H / 1983, introduction, p 14, *Tuhfat al-Ahwazi Sharh Tirmizi*, with reference to Hafiz Ibn Hajar, introduction, op cit, pp 87-88.

⁴ - *Bulugh al-Maram*, Hafiz Ibn Hajar, with explanation entitled *Subul al-Salam*, by Amir Muhammad bin Isma'il al-Sanani, ed Muhammad Abdul Aziz al-Khawali, Al-Babi al-Halabi, Egypt, 1378H / 1985, introduction, pp 1/10-13.

Imam Siyuti (d.911/1505H.) claimed that Ibn Hajar said that if the *Sunan al-Darimi* had been added to the five mother books in place of *Ibn Majah* it would have been better.¹ Allama Ibn Khallikan (d.681H.) said that Imam Ibn Majah (d.273H/887) had compiled many useful books. One of them was his *Sunan*, and it had been counted in the six sound books.² Hafiz al-Zahabi said that *Sunan Ibn Majah* should be included in the second category with *Sunan Abu Dawud* and *Nasaee* next to the first category which contains *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim*. He further added that Ibn Hazm did not mention it because he did not see it and it did not enter his homeland Spain in his life time.³ Egyptian celebrated *Muhaddith* Shaikh Ahmad Shakir⁴, Dr. Subhi al-Salih⁵ and the majority of the latest *Muhaddithin* consider the *Ibn Majah* as one of the basic sound books. Although Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan mentioned the *Ibn Majah* in his book *Al-Hittah fi Zikr al-Sihah al-Sittah* he preferred the *Muwatta* to it and discussed on the *Muwatta*, *Musnad Ahmad* and *al-Darimi* also and quoted from the chapter of *Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith* of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* of Shah Waliullah line by line.⁶ This proves that the Nawab was fully influenced by the Shah in the classification of books on Hadith.⁷ Shaikh Abdur Rahman al-Mubarakpuri(d.1353H.) clearly said that the *Sunan Ibn Majah* was the sixth of the six basic books.⁸

In opposition to this opinion there are many erudites in Hadith who did not consider *Sunan Ibn Majah* as one of the six basic books. Among those scholars Imam Abul Hasan Razin(d.535H./1140),⁹ Imam Abu Bakr Muhammad

¹ - Tadrīb al-Rawī, op. cit., p.1/174.

² - Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz Dihlavi, Bustan al-Muhaddithin, with Urdu tr. by Abdus Sami' Deobandi, Adab Manzil, Karachi, 1984, p. 298, (with reference to Ibn Khallikan).

³ - Tazkirat al-Huffaz, op. cit., p. 3/1153.

⁴ - Miftah Kunuz al-Sunnah, introduction, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵ - 'Ulum al-Hadith wa Mustalahuhu, op. cit., pp. 118- 19.

⁶ - Al-Hittah fi Zikr al-Sihah al-Sittah, op. cit., pp. 54-58.

⁷ - Compare the Nawab's description with the chapter of *Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith* of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, op. cit., pp.1/320-24 and introduction of *Musaffa* of Shah Waliullah, op. cit., p. 6.

⁸ - Tuhafat al-Ahwazi Sharh Timizi, introduction, op. cit., p. 108.

⁹ - Imam Razin's book *Al-Tjrid li al-Sahih al-Sittah* contains six books including the *Muwatta* and excluding the *Ibn Majah*. Shah Waliullah has mentioned it in his *Hujjatullah*, p.1/324.

sal-Hazimi (d.584H./1188),¹ `Allama Majduddin Ibn al-Atheer (d.606H.),² Imam Ibn al-Salah (d.643H./1244),³ Imam al-Nawawi (d.676H.),⁴ Hafiz Zainuddin `Iraqi (d.806H.),⁵ `Allama Ibn Khaldun (d.808H./ 1406),⁶ Shaikh Jamaluddin al-Qasimi,⁷ and others. Hafiz Abu Zur`ah al- Razi (d.264H./878) has admired the *Ibn Majah* and said that there were near about thirty Hadiths in this books which chains are weak.⁸ Hafiz al-Zahabi (d.748H./1348) said that *Sunan Ibn Majah* was a good book if it had not been spoilt by weak Hadiths although those are not so many.⁹ In spite of this weakness Hafiz al- Zahabi considers the *Ibn Majah* as a book of same category of other three *Sunans* (*Abu Dawud, Tirmizi and Nasa`i*).¹⁰ Shah Abdul `Aziz said, "The author of *Jami` al-Usul* (Majduddin Ibn al-Atheer) did not include the *Ibn Majah* in the sound books, but included the *Muwatta* as sixth of the six books and he was right."¹¹

After giving this brief remarks of scholars of Hadith about the *Sunan Ibn Majah* we are going to mention Shah Waliullah's opinion on it. Maulana `Ubaidullah Sindhi after mentioning the names of those scholars who have not included the *Ibn Majah* in the six books stated, "Shah Sahib, most probably the last personality of them."¹² Maulana `Ubaidullah Sindhi further said that the person who included *Sunan Ibn Majah* in the six books on Hadith, although he was a

¹ - Shurut al- Ayimmah al- Khamsah with Shurut al- Ayimmah al- Sittah, op cit Al- Hazimi has discussed on the conditions of five books of five Imams excluding both Sunan Ibn Majah and Muwatta

² - Ibn al-Atheer's book the *Jami` al-Usul* contains six books including the *Muwatta* and excluding the *Ibn Majah* Shah Waliullah has mentioned it in his *Hujjatullah*, op cit , p 1/324

³ - Muqaddimah fi `Ulum al-Hadith, op. cit., pp 19, 192

⁴ - Tadrib al- Rawi Sharh Taqrib al-Nawawi, op cit p 1/171

⁵ - Al- Taqiid wal- Iidhah, op cit , p 56

⁶ - Tarikh Ibn Khaldun (Muqaddimat Kitab al-`Ibar), Dar al- Kitab al-Baunani, Beirut, 1957, introduction, pp 1/793-794

⁷ - Qaw'id al- Tahdith, op cit , p 84

⁸ - Tazkirat al- Huffaz, op cit , p 2/636

⁹ - Ibid, p 2/636

¹⁰ - Ibid, p 3/1153

¹¹ - "صاحب جامع الأصول ابن ماجه را در صحاح عد نه كرده.....والحق 1/3-4" op cit , pp 1/3-4

¹² - "شاه صاحب ان مين غالبا آخري هستي" op cit , pp 292- 93

scholar of biography of transmitters was not a scholar of public dealings (*l'a`amul al-Nas*). Maulana Sindhī did not mention his name and gave his opinion on him without any reference. We have mentioned earlier that his name was Abul Fadhl bin Tahir al-Maqdisi (d.507H./1113).¹ He was a *Hafiz* of Hadith and expert in sound and weak Hadith. He has written *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* by his own hand seven times and *Sunan Ibn Majah* ten times.² It is not understood why Maulana Sindhī blamed him without reference and what did he mean in this place by '*Ta`amul al-Nas*', and what is the relation of '*Ta`amul al-Nas*' with the soundness of *Sunan Ibn Majah* and its weakness?

Dr.AA Rizvi said, "Following the lead of many eminent scholars of Hadith, the Shah excluded *Sunan Ibn Majah* from list of six canonical³ works and included in them *al- Muwatta*."⁴

G N Jalbani stated, "As regards the *Sunan Ibn Majah*, it is really strange to note that its name does not occur anywhere in the works of the Shah Waliyullah save in the *Izalat al-Khafa* where he has discussed the appearance of Imam Mahdi.⁵ Professor Yasin Mazhar said, "For the same consideration Shah Waliullah dismissed *Sunan Ibn Maja* as a collection of weak reports. He did not approve that an argument be adduced, which is based on any report in this collection."⁶

There is no doubt in it that Shah Waliullah has given his verdict on the bulky and encyclopedic book like *Musnad Ahmad* which included hundreds of weak Hadith and opined that it was very nearer to the second category and kept

¹ - See supra, p 242

² - Tazkirat al- Huffaz, op cit , pp 4/1242-45

³ - Canonical This word is used to the rules and regulations related to the Christian- Church (Oxford and Webster' dictionary) Therefore, we should avoid this kind of words in the field of Islamic terms, specially in the field of the Quran and Hadith, because both are revealed from Allah either with reciting on non-reciting Moreover, the Hadith scholars terms in the six books on Hadith are famous, as we have mentioned them earlier So, Mr Rizvi has made an innovation here

⁴ - Shah Wali Allah and His Times, op cit , p 243

⁵ - Teachings of Shah Waliyullah, op cit , p 41

⁶ - Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, op cit , p 35

silent about the *Ibn Majah* in his discussion on the books on Hadith, this is a thrilling matter and apparently questionable

In this connection we would like to state that Shah Waliullah has made a formula for classification the books on Hadith according to soundness and reputation, and then under every category he brought up some books as example without limitation except first category. Only the first category is confined to three particular books according to him. But regarding the other categories, he did not confine some particular books in a certain category, but mentioned some books under every category as instance according to his formula. As example for the second category he mentioned letter 'ك' (as) and said, "As the *Sunan Abu Dawud*, and *Tirmizi* and *Nasa'i*.¹ As well as for the third category he mention "ع" (as) *Musnad Abu 'Ali*, *Musnad Abdur Razzaq* etc.² Shah Waliullah did not state that he had excluded *Sunan Ibn Majah* from the second category or from any other category. And being this book unmentioned in any category did not mean that the Shah did not consider it suitable for any category. Therefore, no evidence in *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* is available from which it would be inferred that the Shah excluded *Sunan Ibn Majah* from the basic books on Hadith. But it may be said that he did not mention it in the chapter of *Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith* for making the example shorter.

The statement of Jalbani that the Shah did not mention the *Ibn Majah* in any place except *Izalat al-Khafa* is not correct at all. The Shah has mentioned Ibn Majah(d.273H./887) with Imam Bukhari (d.256H./870), Muslim(d.261H./875), Abu Dawud(d.275H./889), Tirmizi(d.279H./892), Nasa'i(d.303H./915) and others in another place of *Hujjatullah*.³ In the *Musauwa* the Shah indicated to *Sunan Ibn Majah* as one of the six sound books. As he said (while explaining the *Muwatta*) that he did

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit , p 1/324, " كسّنن أبي داود و جامع الترمذی و مجتبى النسائي. "

² - Ibid, p 1/ 324

³ - Ibid, Chapter Al- Farq baina Ahl al- Hadith wa Ashab al- Rai, p 1/364, " و هؤلاء هم البخاري و مسلم و أبو داود و عبد بن حميد و ابن ماجه و أبو يعلى و الترمذی و النسائي..."

not try to mention the names who narrated the Hadith among the compilers of six books, except in some places¹ In another place the Shah said, "The compiler of six books and Al-Hakim in *Mustadrak* have tried to connect the disconnected chains of the *Muwatta*"² In another place the Shah said, "As for receiving it (*Muwatta*) with acceptance by the compilers of six books is so clear that there is no need of discussion"³

Above mentioned statements of Shah Waliullah clearly show that the six books and the *Muwatta* have been mentioned separately Therefore, it may be said that the sixth of the six basic books in the opinion of the Shah was *Sunan Ibn Majah* In another place the Shah mentioned Imam Ibn Majah as a leader of *Muhaddithin* As he said, "Even the leading *Muhaddithin* like Ahmad, Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmizi, Abu Dawud, Nasa'i, Ibn Majah and Darimi did not transmit from him (Imam Abu Hanifa) a single Hadith"⁴ Moreover, Shah Waliullah used to teach *Sunan Ibn Majah* and give the certificate (*sanad*) his students on it As it has been found in the certificate of his student Shaikh Jarullah bin Abdur Rahim Punjabi The Shah mentioned that he had studied under him *Sunan Ibn Majah* completely along with other books on Hadith⁵

The above mentioned statements and evidences clearly prove that the Shah has mentioned Imam Ibn Majah and his *Sunan* in many places of his many books and he has not excluded it from the list of basic six books Therefore, those who claimed that the Shah had not mentioned *Sunan Ibn Majah* except in the *Izalat al-Khafa* or he excluded it from the list of six books had given wrong information

¹ "ولم أتعرض (في أثناء شرح الموطأ) لذكر من أخرج الحديث , Al- Musauwa, op cit , introduction, p 64 , من أصحاب الكتب الستة إلا في مواضع يسيرة"

² "اهل كتب سته و حاكم ومستترك سعيها کرده اند در وصل مرسل مالك , Musaffa , introduction, op cit , p 7 , ورفع موقوف وے"

³ " و اما تلقي اصحاب كتب سته انرا بقبول بس اظهار ازان است كه گفته شود " , Ibid, introduction, p 8 ,

⁴ " كه رؤس محدثين مثل احمد و بخاري و مسلم و ترمذي و ابو داود و , Ibid, introduction, op cit , p 6 ,

⁵ " نسائي و ابن ماجه و دارمي يك حديث روايت نه کرده اند"

⁵ - Al- Musauwa, introduction op cit , pp 55-56

Regarding the first and second category the Shah has given an important note for the readers. He said, "As for the first and second category, it is upon them that Hadith scholars rely, and it is within the sanctuary of these two ranks that their grazing ground and pasture lies."¹

Third Category: As regards the third category the Shah has mentioned some qualities and said, "The third category is comprised of those *Musnads* and *Jami's*² and the books compiled before the Bukhari and Muslim, during their time and after them which combine the sound (*sahih*), the good (*hasan*) and the weak (*dha'if*), recognized (*ma'ruf*),³ the uncommon (*gharib*), the anomalous (*shaz*), the disgusted (*munkar*)⁴; the erroneous and correct; and the confirmed and the transposed (*maqlub*).⁵ They do not have the same reputation among the learned scholars, even if they are not given the designation of 'absolute disame'. The learned jurists have not given much currency to those Hadiths found uniquely (*tafarrud*) in these works, and the Hadith scholars have not carried out major investigations into their soundness or weakness. Among these books are the ones for which no linguist has rendered the service of explaining its uncommon hard words, nor has any legal scholar worked to reconcile it with the opinions of the pious ancestors, nor has any Hadith scholar explained its problematic (*mushkil*)⁶ Hadiths, nor has any historian made mention of its transmitters. I do not refer to those latest authors

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit, p 1/325

² - Musnad and Jami'. See supra, p 225

³ - Ma'ruf Transmission of trustworthy transmitter in opposition to weak transmitter (Ibn Hajar, Nuzhat al-Nazar, op cit, p 52, Dr al-Tahhan, op cit, p 98)

⁴ - Munkar. Transmission of weak transmitter in opposition to trustworthy transmitter (Ibn al-Salah, op cit, pp 37-38, Hafiz al-'Iraqi, op cit, pp 105-6, Ibn Hajar, pp 51-52, Al-Siyuti, op cit, p 1/24, Al-Tahhan, p 98)

⁵ - Maqlub When there will be any transposition either in the text (matn) or in the chain (sanad) of Hadith is called maqlub (Ibn al-Salah, pp 48-49, Ibn Hajar, pp. 72-75, Al-Tahhan, pp 107-9)

⁶ - Mushkil It lexically means difficulty or problem. Shah Waliullah has mentioned its meaning as "The difficulties and problems relating to words and sentence of Hadith either in spelling or vowel and consonant, or doted and non doted or ambiguity according to grammar etc (Risalah Danishmandi, op cit, p 10, see also Ibn al-Salah, p 143, Ibn Hajar, p 78)

who are hair-splitters¹ ; rather I am speaking of the early leaders (*Imams*) of the Hadith scholars. Therefore, their books have remained obscure, unknown, and undistinguished, such as the *Musnad* Abu Ali (d 349H /960), *Musannaf* Abdur Razzaq (d.211H./827), *Musannaf* Abu Bakr Ibn Abi Shaiba (d.235H./ 849), *Musnad* 'Abd Ibn Hamid (d.249H./863), and that of Al-Tayalisi² (d.204H./819), books of Al-Baihaqi³(d.458H./1066)and Al-Tahawi⁴ (d.321H./933), and Al- Tabrani⁵ (d 360H /971) The goal of these authors was to collect whatever they found, not extract the best, nor to refine them, nor to make them more accessible for use.⁶

As for this third category, the Shah manifests that no one undertakes implementing them and holding them to be accurate except the rare brilliant ones who have memorized the biographies of the transmitters and the subtle defects (*'ilal*) of Hadiths, although indeed sometimes supporting evidences (*mutaba'at*)⁷ for the text or witnesses (*shawahid*)⁸ for other Hadiths can be taken from these⁹ " Verily, Allah has set for everything a measure."¹⁰

¹ - Latest hair- splitters (المتأخرون المتعمقون) · Perhaps the Shah means by them those latest Muha-ddithin and Fuqaha who usually try to collect their favourable documents for their own sects and school of thought through deep investigation into all categories of books on Hadith without discriminating the sound and weak The Shah has discussed the matter in another place of his Hujjatullah (Chapter Hikayat Hal al- Nas . , op cit , pp 1/368-372 and in his Al- Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al- Ikhtilaf)

² -Al-Tayalisi Imam Sulaiman bin Dawud al-Jarud

³ - Al-Baihaqi Imam Abu Bakr Ahmad

⁴ - Al-Tahawi Imam Abu Ja'far Ahmad bin Muhammad

⁵ - Al-Tabrani Imam Abul Qasim Sulaiman

⁶ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, pp 324-25

⁷ - Mutaba'ah · That Hadith transmitters of which participate the transmission of other individual transmitter's Hadith in word or meaning, on condition that the Sahabi of both transmissions will be same (Ibn al- Salah, op cit , pp 39-40, Ibn Hajar, op cit , p 52, Dr. al-Tahhan, op cit., pp 141-420)

⁸ - Shahid That Hadith transmitters of which participate the transmission of other individual transmitter's Hadith in word or meaning, on condition that the Sahabi of each transmission will be different Some times both Mutaba'ah and Shahid are used for the same meaning, because the purpose is same, that is strengthening some transmissions by other transmissions (Ibn al- Salah, pp 39-40, Ibn Hajar, p 52, Al-Tahhan, pp 141-42) 'Allama Badruddin 'Ayni indicated that the Mutaba'ah had been used to the transmitters of Hadith and the Shahid had been used to the text of Hadith (Umdat al- Qari Sharh Sahih al- Bukhari, introduction, op cit , p 1/ 27)

⁹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha. p 1/326

¹⁰ - Surah, Al-Talaq, Ayat no 3

Imam Ibn Hazm(d 456H./1064) mentioned the *Tahawī* (*Sharh Ma`anī al-Athar*) in the second category, because of its including almost chained Hadiths¹ not based on the soundness and reputation which are the Shah Waliullah's basis of classification. `Allama Ibn Khaldun said that the book of *Tahawī* was a highly respected book, but it was not equal to *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* even to the *Sunans* (*Abu Dawud*, *Tirmizi* etc.), because his conditions for including the Hadiths were not strong as like of their conditions and he had transmitted from weak transmitters²

If we observe the system of discussion of Shah Waliullah and that of Imam Ibn al-Salah (d.642H./1244) in classification the books on Hadith find some similarities and dissimilarities between them. Imam Ibn al-Salah did not include the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik in the five basic books, whereas the Shah considered it one of the basic books and placed it in the first category and started the example of first category with this book. Imam Ibn al-Salah considered *Musnad Ahmad* as a book of third category next to the three *Sunans* (*Abu Dawud*, *Tirmizi* and *Nasa'i*), whereas the Shah considered it almost as good as the group of second category. Although their remarks about other *Musnads* are same and those are in the third category. Imam Ibn al-Salah confined basic books to five books and clearly excluded the *Ibn Majah* and the *Muwatta*,³ whereas the Shah did not mention the *Ibn Majah* in the relevant chapter of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* although he mentioned it in another chapter of the same book and included it in the six basic books in his *Al-Musauwa* and *Musaffa* and did not exclude it from the list of sound books.⁴ Both Imam Ibn al-Salah and the Shah have mentioned as instance of third category the books like : *Musannaf Abdur Razzaq*, *Musannaf Ibn Abi Shaiba*, *Musnad `Abd Ibn Hamid* and *Musnad Abu Dawud al-Tayalisi*⁵

¹ - Tazkirat al-Huffaz, op cit , p 3/1153, Siyar A`lam al-Nubala, op cit , p 18/203

² - Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, op cit , p 1/797

³ - See the opinions of Ibn al-Salah in the Muqaddimah fi `Ulum al-Hadith, op cit , pp 18-19

⁴ - The matter has recently been discussed elaborately

⁵ - Ibn al-Salah, p. 19, Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, op cit , p 1/324

Fourth Category. Regarding the fourth category the Shah said, "The fourth rank are those whose authors after long centuries sought to gather Hadiths which were not found in the first and second ranks of books, and these were in obscure *Jami`*¹ and *Musnad* works, then they brought them to light. These had been transmitted from those whose reports the Hadith scholars did not record, such as many of the jabbering admonitors, heretics and unreliable persons or they were the traditions of *Sahaba (athar)* and the *Ish`im*, or the report of *Bani Israel*, or from the philosophers and preachers, which were mixed by some transmitters with Hadiths of the Prophet (PBUH) mistakenly or deliberately. Or they were the interpretation of the Quran or the sound Hadiths, so that a group of righteous people who did not realize the abstruseness of the science of transmission, then they transmitted them in their meanings, and therefore they made those ideas into Hadith going back to the Prophet (*Ahadith marfu`ah*). Or these were concepts understood from the indications (*isharat*) of the Quran and the *Sunnah* which they deliberately made into completely independent Hadith, or those were the different sentences of various Hadiths which they combined into one Hadith as a uniform narration.

The place to find such Hadiths is the *Kitab al-Dhu`afa* of Ibn Hibban (d 354H /965),³ *Al-Kamil* of Ibn` Adi (d 365H /976),⁴ and the books of Al-Khatib

¹ - *Jami`* s. See supra, p 225. In almost copies of Hujjatullah the word "Majami" has been found, actually it is *Jawami`* the plural of *Jami`*.

² - Righteous people (*Qaumun Salihun*) Imam Muslim narrated that Yahya bin Sa`id al-Qattan said that he had not found the pious men more liar in anything than that of Hadith. Explaining this sentence Imam al-Nawawi said that the lie had been circulated from their tongues without intention. Because, they were not expert in the science of Hadith. In this circumstances they had transmitted the false Hadiths mistakenly and ignorantly (*Sharh al-Nawawi* of *Sahih Muslim*, op cit, Muqaddimah, p 1/54).

³ - Ibn Hibban Abu Hatim Muhammad al-Bastri. His famous books on Hadith are *Al-Musnad al-Sahih*, *Al-Tarikh al-Kabir* and *al-Dhu`afa* (above mentioned), (*Tazkirat al-Huffaz*, op cit p 3/922 *Al-A`lam*, op cit, p 6/78).

⁴ - Ibn Adi Abu Ahmad Abdullah al-Jurjani. His books relating to Hadith are *Al-Kamil fil-Jarh wal-Ta`dil* or *Al-Kamil fi Dhu`afa al-Rijal wal-Matrukin*, *lail al-Hadith*, (above said) (*Tazkirat al-Huffaz*, pp 3/940-42, *Tahzib al-Tahzib*, introduction, op cit, p 1/61, *Al-A`lam*, p 4/103).

(d 463H./1072),¹ Abu Nu'aim(d 430H.)² Al-Jauzqani (d.543H),³ Ibn 'Asakir (d 571H),⁴ Ibn al-Najjar (d.643H.),⁵ and Al- Dailami (d 509H./1115).⁶ The *Musnad al-Khawarizmi* (d.665H)⁷ almost as good as this category The best of this category are those which are weak but equivocal, and the worst are those which are fabricated (*maudhu'*)⁸ or transposed (*maqlub*) and strongly disgusted This rank is the subject of the book *Al-Maudhu'at* of Ibn al- Jauzi⁹ (d.597H./1201)¹⁰

In the fourth category Shah Waliullah has indicated to three kinds of book Some of those are related with the history and biography of the transmitters of Hadith, like the *Kitab al-Dhu'afa* of Ibn Hibban and *Al- Kamil fi Dhu'afa al-Rijal* of Ibn 'Adi. Some others relating to the Hadith directly like *Musnad al-Khawarizmi*. Some of them are unmentioned like books of Al- Khatib, Abu Nu aim, Al- Jauzqani etc.

¹ - Khatib al-Baghdadi Abu Bakr Ahmad bin 'Ali There are near about 79 books of al- Khatib al- Baghdadi relating to Hadith, history and other subjects Among the books relating to Hadith and its transmitters are Tarikh Baghdad, Al- Kifayah fi Ilm al-Kiwayah, Sharaf' Ashab al-Hadith, Al-Asma al- Jam , Maqlub al- Asma, Asma al- Mudallis in etc (Tazkirat al- Huffaz, op cit , pp 3/1135-1144, Al- A'lam, p 1/172)

² - Abu Nu'aim Ahmad bin Abdullah His famous books on Hadith are Ma'rifat al- Sahaba, Dalail al-Nabuwah, Mustakhraj al-Bukhari wa Muslim, Hilyat al-Awlia, Fadhillat al- Sahaba etc (Tazkirat al- Huffaz, pp 3/1092-97, Tuhfat al- Ahwazi Sharh al-Tirmizi, op cit , pp 170-71, 265)

³ - Al- Jauzqani Abu Abdullah al-Husain al-Hamadani His famous book on Hadith is Al-Abatil, which deals with false Hadiths in opposition to sound Hadiths, (Tazkirat al-Huffaz, p 3/1308)

⁴ - Ibn 'Asakir Abul Qasim 'Ali al-Dimashqi He compiled more than 45 books His famous books relating to Hadith are Muafaqat, Atraf, Musnad, Mu'jam, 'Awali Malik, Gharibu Malik, Tarikh Dimashq etc (Ibid, pp 4/1328-1330, 1333)

⁵ - Ibn al- Najjar Abu Abdullah Muhammad al- Baghdadi His famous books on Hadith are Al- Qamar al- Munir fi l- Musnad al-Kabir, Ansab al- Muhaddithin ilal- Aba wal- Buldan, Al- Kamal fil- Rijal, Al- Mu'talif' wal- Mukhtalif' etc (Tazkirat al-Huffaz, pp 4/1428-29)

⁶ - Al- Dailami Abu Shuja' Shirawaihi bin Shahardar His famous books relating to Hadith are Musnad al-Firdaus, Ma'rifat Ahwal al-Nabi, Tarikh al-Khulafa etc (Ibid, pp 4/1259-1260, Al-A lam, p 3/183)

⁷ - Al- Khawarizmi Muhammad bin Mahmud He arranged the Musnad ascribed to Imam Abu Hanifa (Tuhfat al-Ahwazi, introduction, p 130)

⁸ - Maudhu Fabricated Hadith which has been ascribed to the Prophet falsely (Ibn al-Salah, op cit , pp 47-48, Al-Nawawi & Al-Siyuti, op cit , pp 1/274-90, Hafiz Al- 'Iraqi, op cit , pp 128-30, Ibn Hajar, Nuzhat al-Nazar, op cit , pp 64-68, Al- Tahhan, op cit , pp 89-93)

⁹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, op cit , p 1/325

¹⁰ - Ibn al- Jauzi Abdur Rahman bin Abul Hasan al-Baghdadi He wrote more than 250 books in different subjects like Tafsir, Hadith, history, biography, Arabic literature etc (Tazkirat al- Huffaz, pp 4/1342-1347, Siyar A'lam al- Nubala, pp 21/375)

These compilers have compiled many kinds of book in different subjects of Hadith. Then how Shah Waliullah included the different books containing different subjects in the one subject and enlisted them in one category? It is worthy of mention here that his subject of discussion was categories of books on Hadith according to soundness and reputation not the books on history and biography of transmitters of Hadith. As well as all places (books) to find weak and false Hadiths are not equal. Therefore, those are not same category. The Shah further stated that this category was the subject matter of *Kitab al-Maudhu'at* of Ibn al-Jauzi. Had the Shah said that those were the subject matter of Ibn al-Jauzi without mentioning any category that would have been more perfect statement

The Shah might have been impressed by Ibn 'Iraq al-Kinani (d 963H) and mentioned many books which had been mentioned by him exactly in his book *Tanzih al-Shari'ah al-Marfu'ah 'an al-Akhbar al-Shani'ah al-Maudhu'ah*. In this book he said that Ibn al-Jauzi had collected his materials mostly from *Al-Kamil* of Ibn 'Adi, *Al-Dhu'afa* of Ibn Hibban, books of al-Khatib, books of Abu Nu'aim, *Abatil* of Al-Jauzqani, *Ma'ajim* of al-Tabarani, *Hilyah* and *Tarikh* of Abu Nu'aim etc.¹ On the whole, the discussion of the Shah on fourth category is not so clear but mingled and ambiguous according to his formula of classification. Probably for this reason, Imam Ibn al-Salah and other renowned *Muhaddithun* did not hint at any fourth class of books on Hadith under any certain characteristic

There is another remarkable matter here that the Shah like many other renowned *Muhaddiths* criticized Al-Hakim al-Nisapuri for his laxity in giving opinion on soundness of Hadith whereas he did not comment on Ibn al-Jauzi for his carelessness in declaring many Hadiths as false. Actually a great number of those Hadiths which have been declared by Ibn al-Jauzi as false are either weaks or even *hasans* and *sahihs* also.² According to the counting of Imam al-Siyuti

¹ - Tadrīb al-Rawī, foot note by 'Abdul Wahhab 'Abdul Latif, op cit, p 1/279

² - See Ibid, pp 1/278-79, Tuhfat al-Ahwazi, introduction, op cit, pp 125- 26, 128, Subhi al-Salih, op cit, p 272. Al-Tahhan, op cit, p 93

(d 911H /1505) total number of Hadiths of these kinds in *Al-Maudhu'at* of Ibn al-Jawzi are one hundred and twenty three. Not only the fourth rank of books as said by the Shah is the subject of the book of Ibn al-Jawzi but he has entered into the five basic books also except the *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Among those 123 false Hadiths as claimed by Ibn al-Jawzi one Hadith is in *Sahih Muslim*,¹ more than thirty in *Musnad Ahmad*, four in *Sunan Abu Dawud*, more than twenty in *Jami' al-Tirmizi*, one in *Sunan al-Nasa'i* and sixteen in *Sunan Ibn Majah*.² Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that Imam Ibn al-Jawzi had mistreated by mentioning the Hadith of *Sahih Muslim* in his *Al-Maudhu'at*.³

After discussing the fourth category the Shah has given an important note on it, "Being preoccupied with collecting them or deriving from them is a sort of hair-splitting of the latter day peoples. If you want the truth, sects of innovators among the *Rafidhis (Shi'a)* and *Mu'tazilites* and the others were capable, with the least effort, to extract from these evidences for their points of view. However, referring to such Hadiths for assistance during the disputations of the scholars of Hadith is not correct."⁴

Fifth Category: It was stated by Shah Waliullah in the beginning of discussion that there were four categories of books on Hadith according to soundness and reputation, but after completion the discussion on them he added a fifth category to them. Regarding this category the Shah said, "There is also a fifth category including what widespread among the legal scholars (*Fuqaha*),⁵ the

¹ - Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-Jannah, no 7124, "يوشك ان طالت بك مدة..... في ايديهم مثل اذناب البقر..."

² - Tadrib al-Rawi, op cit, pp 1/280-81

³ - Al-Qaul al-Musaddad, op cit, p 44

⁴ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, op cit, p 1/326

⁵ - Some legal scholars have fabricated many Hadiths for supporting their own mazhabs and dis-faming the opponents, (Ibn Hajar, op cit, p 67) For details and examples see Tadrib al-Rawi, pp 1/277-78, Tanzih al-Shari'ah al-Marfu'ah 'an al-Akhbar al-Shani'ah al-Maudhu'ah of 'Ali Ibn Iraq al-Kinani, ed Dr Abdul Wahab Abdul Latif, Cairo, 1778H, pp 2/30-31, Al-Sunnat Qabl al-Tadwin, op cit, p 210

*Sufis*¹, the historians and so on, and it has no basis in the above said four ranks. This includes the interpolations of those ignorant about their religion, who know its language and invent strong chains which can not be disputed apparently, and eloquent sayings which seem to issue from the Prophet (PBUH) and thus they have provoked in Islam a great sin. However, the brilliant *Muhaddithin* adduced thinks like this on the basis of supporting evidences (*mutaba'at*) and witnesses (*shawahid*)² then the veils have been torn away and the defects become visible.

In the fifth category Shah Waliullah neither mentioned any book nor discussed on them as it has been done by him in other categories, but he has discussed on the false Hadiths and their manufacturers. It is needless to say that the false Hadiths and their manufacturers are not the books on Hadith, whereas Shah Waliullah's subject of discussion is categories of books on Hadith not the false Hadiths and their fabricants, and they can not be included in any categories of books on Hadith. In this place the Shah has turned aside from his discussing system and subject matter. In answer it may be said that the Shah had mentioned this fifth category as complementary and additional matter to the basic four categories. Therefore, this matter should be taken from that point of view.

¹ - With all their best intentions some Sufis have permitted for manufacturing the Hadith for encouraging and intimidation (*Targhib* and *Tarhib*). This is not legal at all. Because the *Targhib* and *Tarhib* are also related with Shari'ah, therefore, those should not be implemented in illegal way (Ibn Hajar, p. 91, Muqaddimah Sahih Muslim with Sharh al-Nawawi, op cit, pp 1/53-54, Tadrīb al-Rawi, pp 1/281-83, Al-Sunnat Qabl al-Tadwin, pp 213-15). Being a Sufi Shah Waliullah has strictly prohibited the Sufis and admonitors from using false Hadiths and advised them to use sound Hadiths (Al-Qaul al-Jamil, op cit, pp 200-210).

² - Mutaba'ah & Shaid see supra, p. 249.

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² - *Mutaba'ah* & *Shahid* see supra, p. 249.

Chapter VI

Shah Waliullah's Most Important Works on Hadith

We have mentioned the names of the books relating to Hadith compiled by Shah Waliullah along with his other works on different subjects earlier.¹ The most important works of Shah Waliullah on Hadith are three. Those are -- *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta* and *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta*, the two explanations of the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik(d.179H./795) and *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*. Therefore, we are giving a special attention to these books and going to discuss on them in this chapter by the grace of Allah. There are two sections in this chapter, one is relating to Shah Waliullah's works on the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik and other is to his *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*.

Section I- His Works on the Muwatta of Imam Malik

A- Position of the Muwatta According to Shah Waliullah : Shah Waliullah Dihlawi has given the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik a high position and included it in the first category of the books on Hadith.² He has mustered some points in merit of the *Muwatta* in His *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* and *Al-Musauwa* and *Musaffa*. We are going to mention them below systemically :

1- Shah Waliullah was convinced that there was no book in *fiqh* more strong than the *Muwatta*. Because the books were comparable with each other.³ In another

¹ - Supra, Chapter II, Section V, pp 66- 69

² - *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Chapter *Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith*, op. cit , p 1/321

³ - *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta*, introduction, op cit , p 3, "بیقین معلوم شد کہ امروز هیچ کتابی از کتب فقہ اقویٰ، از موطا نیست"

place he stated that the *Muwatta* was the most sound, most reputed, most ancient and most comprehensive book among the books on *fiqh*.¹

2- There is a supremacy of Imam Malik and his book *Muwatta*, because no book of any leading scholar of *Taba` Tabi`in* is available except that of *Muwatta*.² Drawing the attention to other contemporary books of *Muwatta* of Imam Malik the Shah said, "If you want the clear truth then compare the *Muwatta* with the *Kitab al-Athar* of Imam Muhammad (d 189H./804) and *Al-Amali* of Imam Abu Yusuf (d.182H./798) then you will find between it and them the distance between the East and the West; for have you heard one of the Hadith experts or the legal scholars taking an interest in or paying attention to those works?

3- There is no book now a days in which majesty the Hadith scholars are unanimous. Imam Shafi'i (d.204H./820), Sufyan bin 'Uaynah (d.198H./814), Abdur Rahman bin Mahdi (d.198H./814) and other renowned scholars of Hadith and *fiqh* have admired Imam Malik with glorification.³

4- Madina was the centre for Islamic knowledge in the days of Imam Malik and before him, and he had inherited all Islamic knowledge staying in that centre.⁴

There is no doubt in it that Madina was the centre for Islamic knowledge and it has special importance and honour, but to prefer it to other centres for Islamic knowledge during the period of Imam Malik is not free from disagreement. Regarding the preference, Imam al-Ghazali (d.505H./1111) also said that at contradiction, the acts of the people of Madina would be preferred, because which things considered by Imam Malik as document or claimed by him as consensus

¹ - Al- Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta, introduction, op cit , pp 62- 63

² - Musaffa, introduction, op cit , p 3

³ - Ibid, introduction, op cit , p. 4, See also Al- Tamhid lima fil- Muwatta mial- Ma`ani wal- Asanid, Imam Abu 'Umar Ibn Abdul Barr, ed Usamah bin Ibrahim, Al-Faruq al-Hadithah, Cairo, 1420H / 1999, pp 51-65, Tanwir al-Hawalik Sharh ala Muwatta Malik, Imam Jalaluddin al-Siyuti, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, n.d introduction, pp 3-4

⁴ - Musaffa, introduction, pp 5, 6, Hujjatullah, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al- Hadith, op cit , p 1/320

(*ijma'*) although those were not arguments but preferable. Because Madina was the place for *Hyrat* and revelation of *Wahy*¹ Imam Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Shaibani was not agree with this kind of unconditional support of *Ahl-i-Madina*. Then he wrote a book named *Kitab al-Hujjah 'ala Ahl al-Madinah*.² Imam Ibn Hazm (d.456H./1064) said that the centre for Islamic knowledge in Madina had been obscured by different social and political troubles before many years of birth of Imam Malik. Moreover, the companions of the Prophet had transferred to different parts of Islamdom and the centre for Islamic knowledge had been decentralized. If Madina was honourable place then Makka was more honourable place than it according to the evidences of the Quran and *Sunah*. Therefore, regarding the Islamic knowledge, Madina and other centres in the period of Imam Malik were equal."³ Imam Ibn Qayim al-Jauziyah (d.751H./1350) also agreed with the opinion of Ibn Hazm.⁴

5- The *Muwatta* has met its obligation to soundness. In this regard Imam Shafi'i said, "There is no book in the world most sound than *Muwatta* of Imam Malik after the Book of Allah."⁵ In support of soundness of the *Muwatta* the Shah mentioned the statement of Imam 'Alauddin Mughaltai Hanafi (d.762H./1361) that he said that Imam Malik had compiled the sound book for the first time.⁶ The Shah further transmitted the statement of Hafiz Ibn Hajar (d.852H./1449) that he said that the book of Imam Malik was sound to him and who followed him,

¹ - Al- Mustasfa min 'Ilm al- Usul, op cit , p 128

² - This book has been published with ed & annotation of Sayid Mahdi Hasan Kilani al-Qadiri from Dairat al- Ma'arif al- Uthmaniyah, Hyderabad, 1385H./1965

³ - Al- Ihkam fi Usul al- Ahkam, op cit , pp 4/600-614

⁴ - Zad al-Ma'ad fi Hadiy Khair al-'Ibad, ed & annotation, Shu'ib al-Arnaut, Muassasat al-Risalah, Beirut, 1414H/1994, Vol 1 p 261, "و قد أحدث الأمراء بالمدينة... و بعد انقراض... الصحابة."

⁵ - Musaffa, introduction, op cit , p 6, Hujjatullah Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith , op cit ,p 1/322, see also Al-Tamhid, introduction, op cit . pp 59, 61, Hafiz Abul Qasim 'Ali Ibn 'Asakir, Kashf al-Mughitta fi Fadhl al-Muwatta with Ahadith al-Muwatta of Imam Abul Hasan al-Daraqutni, ed & annotation by Shaikh Zahid al-Kauthari, Maktabah al-Khanji, Egypt, 1365H/1946, p 54, Tanwir al-Hawalik, introduction, op cit , p 7

⁶ - Musaffa, introduction, p 6, Tanwir al-Hawalik, introduction, p 8, Muhammad 'Abdul Baqi al-Zurqani, Sharh al- Muwatta, al- Matba'ah al- Khairiyah, Egypt, 1820H introduction, p 9

because according to their opinion the *mursal* and *munkati*¹ Hadiths were used for legal argument.² The Shah has mentioned the statement of Imam Siyuti (d.911H./1505) also, as he said, "The *mursal* Hadith was documentable to them (*Shafi'ite*) if it was supported by any *marfu*' Hadith or *mauquf* transmission of any *Sahabi*. No *mursal* Hadith is available in the *Muwatta* but it has been supported by *marfu*' transmission either in word or in meaning. The true speech is that the *Muwatta* is sound without exception."³

Imam Siyuti's this statement has been protested by many scholars after him and they said that the connected chained *marfu*' Hadiths in the *Muwatta* are certainly sound but the others are equal to that of other books.⁴

The Shah has exposed his own opinion and said, "The compiler of six books (*Bukhari*, *Muslim*, *Abu Dawud*, *Tirmizi*, *Nasa'i* and *Ibn Majah*) and Hakim al-Nisapuri in his *Al-Mustadrak* have tried to connect the chains of *mursals* of the *Muwatta* and make its *maqufs* as *marfu*'s, as though these books are the explanations and complements of the *Muwatta*. And there is no *mauquf* of *Sahabi* or *athar* of *Tabi'i* in the *Muwatta* but it has root in the Quran and *Sunnah*, as it will be shown in this explanation (*Musaffa*) by the grace of Allah."⁵ He further said that Imam Ibn 'Abdul Barr (d.463H.) had compiled a book on enchainment (وصل) of *mursals* of the *Muwatta* (named *Al-Tamhid*) in which he said that all

¹ - Munqati' It generally means any kind of interruption in the chain of Hadith, and specially transmission of a transmitter beneath the *Tabi'i* from the *Sahabi* directly by interrupting the *Tabi'i* (Ibn al-Salah, op cit, p 27, Al-Tahhan, op cit, pp 77-78) Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that if the interruption had occurred two or more than two times in different places of the chain of Hadith that was *Munqati'* (Nuzhat al-Nazar, op cit, pp 60-61)

² - Musaffa, introduction, op cit, p 6, Tanwir al-Hawalik, introduction, op cit, p 8

³ - Musaffa, introduction, p 7, also Hujjatullah, op cit, p 1/322, Tanwir al-Hawalik, introduction, p 24

⁴ - Ahmad Shakir, op cit, p 30, "وهذا غير صواب، والحق أن ما في الموطأ من الأحاديث الموصولة المرفوعة صحاح كلها، وأن ما فيها من المراسيل و البلاغات وغيرها يعتبر فيها ما يعتبر في أمثالها مما تحتويه الكتب الأخرى." see also 'Abdul Baqi al-Zurqani, introduction, op cit, p 9, Jamaluddin al-Qasimi, op cit, pp 82-83

⁵ - Musaffa, introduction, p 7

the 'balaghat' ¹ and 'an al-thiqah' ² in the *Muwatta* were sixty one ³ All of those transmissions had been proved as chained except four, the root of which he could not find.⁴ Those Hadiths are:

1- ⁵ "أبي لأسي أو أسي لأسي" -

In the Introduction of the *Musaffa* and in the copy of *Muwatta* edited by Muhammad Fuwad Abdul Baqi, the Hadith has been printed as "أبي لأسي وأسي لأسي" ⁶

This is not correct. In the copy of Imam Ibn 'Abdul Barr and that of Al-Siyuti the words of firstly mentioned Hadith are available. Moreover, Ibn Abd al-Barr said that the meaning of this Hadith is correct, because the Prophet said, "أنا أنا سر"

⁷ "أسي كما تسون"

8 " أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أرى أعمار الناس.... فأعطاه الله ليلة القدر... " -

9 " أن معادس حل قال : آخر ما أوصاني به رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ... أحسن خلقك للناس. " -

10 " إذا أشتأت بحرية ثم تناءمت فتلك عين عديقة " -

After mentioning the statement of Ibn Abdul Barr and these four rootless Hadiths the Shah said, "Although these Hadiths had not been proved with these words but their meanings were correct. We should discuss the matters in their

¹ - Balaghat . Means reaching or being informed Those transmissions which have been transmitted in the *Muwatta* without chain (sanad) and said that those had been reached (بلغ) Imam Malik

² - 'An al-Thiqah : Transmitting from trustworthy transmitter without mentioning his name

³ - *Musaffa*, introduction, op cit , p 7, Al- Tamhid, op cit , Vol 16, p 516, "ومن بلاغات مالك عن الثقات و ما أرسله عن نفسه أنه بلغه أحد وستون حديثاً."

⁴ - Al-Tamhid, p. 3/318, 5/341, "الأحاديث الأربعة في الموطأ التي لا توجد في غيره مسندة ولا مرسلّة..."

⁵ - Al-Musauwa, Kitab al-Sahu, op cit., p 1/ 165, Hadith no 291, *Musaffa*, p 1/123, Al-Tamhid, p 3/318, Tanwir al-Hawalik, op cit., p 1/121, Al- Muwatta lil- Imam Malik bin Anas, ed and numbering of Hadith by Muhammad Fuwad Abdul Baqi, Egypt, 1370H/1951, p 100

⁶ - *Musaffa*, introduction, p 7, Al- Muwatta lil- Imam Malik, introduction, p " د " and Kitab al- Sahu, p 100

⁷ - Al- Tamhid, Al- Sahu, p 3/318

⁸ - Al- Musauwa, Fadhl Lailat al- Qadr. p 1/314, Hadith no 660. *Musaffa*, introduction, p 7, also Vol 1. p 263, Al- Tamhid, p 7/380, Tanwir al-Hawalik, p 1/299

⁹ - Al-Musauwa, Husn al-Khuluq. Hadith no 1813, pp 2/458-59. *Musaffa*, introduction, p 7, also p 2/273 Al- Tamhid, p 15/ 7, Tanwir al-Hawalik, p 3/94

¹⁰ - *Musaffa*, introduction, p 7, Al- Tamhid, Al- Istisqa, p 5/341, Tanwir al-Hawalik, Al- Istisqa, p 1/199

suitable places by the wish of Allah."¹ The same thing has been said by Imam Ibn 'Abdul Barr also²

It is worthy of mention here that in spite of Shah Waliullah's commitment in the introduction of *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta* that he will discuss on those four Hadiths in their places he did not fulfill it. He mentioned the first three Hadiths in the *Musaffa* and *Musauwa* but did not discuss on them and the fourth Hadith is not found neither in *Musauwa* nor in *Musaffa*.

6- The *Muwatta* is a well reputed book and it has been transmitted by large crowd from every class. Among the rulers such as Al-Rashid(786-809), Al-Amin(809-813) and Al-Mamun(813-833), and according to some reports Al-Mahdi and Al-Hadi also. Among the *Muhtadithin* such as Imam Al-Shafi'i (d.204H./820) and Muhammad bin al-Hasan (d.189H./804) without media, and Ahmad bin Hunbal (d.241H./855) through the chain of 'Abdur Rahman bin Mahdi (d.198H./814) and Abu Yusuf (d.182H./798) through the chain of a person. And among the *Muhaddithin* a large number which is uncountable. And the copies of *Muwatta* more than thirty.³ The *Muwatta* has been transmitted without media by more than one thousand persons.⁴ The Hadith of the Prophet . "In near future the people will travel to far distance for obtaining knowledge then they will get none more learned than the scholar of Madina."⁵ According to the statement of Sufyan bin 'Uaynah (d.198H./814) the scholar of Madina which is mentioned in the Hadith is Imam Malik.⁶

¹ "فقير كويد و این لحادیث اگر باین الفاظ و این هیئات ثابت نه شده، پس 7، Musaffa, introduction, op cit , p 7، معنائش صحیح است، و این مبحث اگر خدا خواسته است درجانی خود مذکور گردد ان شاء الله تعالی."

² Al- Tamhid, op cit , p 3/318, 5/341, Tanwir al-Hawalik, introduction, op cit , p 8

³ Musaffa, introduction, p 7, Tanwir al-Hawalik, introduction, p 11

⁴ Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, op cit , p 1/322

⁵ "يوشك أن يضرب الناس أكباد الابل يطلبون 2820، Jami al-Tirmizi, Ma Ja'a fi 'Alim al- Madinah, no 2820 العلم فلا يجدون أحدا أعلم من عالم المدينة."

⁶ Musaffa, introduction, p 3, Al-Tamhid, introduction, p 65, Tanwir al-Hawalik, introduction, p 3

7- The *Muwatta* has been accepted by the compilers of six books (*Bukhari*, *Muslim*, *Abu Dawud*, *Tirmizi*, *Nasa'i* and *Ibn Majah*). The lexical meaning of *Muwatta* is agreement or consensus. The scholars of the times of Imam Malik have unanimously agreed with the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik.¹

8- The *Muwatta* has been compiled with good arrangement and it has comprised all chapters of *fiqh*.²

9- The way to *ijtihad*³ will not be opened before any one except he pursues the *Muwatta*. The Shah said, "I am convinced that now a days the way to *ijtihad* and *Fiqh* is closed unless the especial attention should be given to the *Muwatta*."⁴

10- *Muwatta* is the basis of four famous *mazhabs* of *fiqh*.⁵ This is the equipment of the *mazhab* of Malik and its foundation, and the capital of *mazhab* of Shafi'i and its head, and the lamp and mirror of *mazhab* of Imam Abu Hanifa and his two disciples (*Abu Yusuf* and *Muhammad*). The *mazhabs* before the *Muwatta* like the explanations before the original text. The books which had been compiled in the shape of *Sunan* like *Sahih Muslim*, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, *Nasa'i* and whatever relating to the *Fiqh* of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Jami' al-Tirmizi* were rounding around the *Muwatta*. Their target was to make its *mursals* as *musnads* and its *mauqufs* as *marfu's* and attain which have been missed and to mention *mutaba'at* (supporting transmissions) and *shawahid* (witness transmissions) for which Hadith have been narrated with chains. It should be informed here that *Musnad* of al-Darimi (d.255H./869)) had been compiled only for making the Hadiths of *Muwatta* chained (*isnad*).⁶

¹ - Musaffa, introduction, op cit ,p 8, Tanwir Hawalik, introduction, op cit , p 7

² - Musaffa, introduction, p 8

³ - Ijtihad Independent thinking on the derivation of religious laws from the Quran and the Sunnah

⁴ - Musaffa, introduction, pp 10-11, "ببین معلوم شد که طریق اجتهاد و فقه... امروز مستودست الا از يك وجه كه موطا را پيش نه كيرد."

⁵ - Ibid, introduction, pp 6-7, Hujjatullah, op cit , p 1/322

⁶ - Al- Musauwa, introduction, op cit , pp 62-64 "ان الموطا عُدّة مذهب مالك..... علما مني بأن مسند الدارمي انما صنف لاسناد أحاديث الموطا."

In support of above said statement and claim of Shah Waliullah an Arabian expert in Hadith Shaikh Muhammad al-Shinqiti said, "The speech of the Shah about the *Muwatta* is full of justice May Allah bless him who has given him the title of Waliullah..."¹

There is no doubt in it that the compilers of books on Hadith are indebted to Imam Malik and benefited by his method but saying that all those books are supplementary to the *Muwatta* or only the explanations or merely trying to chaining and making the *mauqufs* as *marfu's* is the matter of review and proper discussion. Every compiler of six basic books has his own method and chains of transmission, although they have transmitted a good number of Hadith through the chain of Imam Malik. Imam Bukhari's *fiqh* and compiling system of his *Sahih* are unprecedented work and excellent invention. In his *Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* Shah Waliullah himself said, "Imam Bukhari has educed a lot of legal opinions from only one Hadith. There has never been one who practice this system before him."² Therefore, Shah Waliullah's claim in this regard in this place is not free from question

Shah Waliullah has mentioned the name of *Musnad al-Darimi* specially. Perhaps we could not realize the system of evaluation of the Shah. But according to our observation there are many differences between *Musnad al-Darimi* and *Muwatta* of Imam Malik either in compiling system, or arrangement, or chapterization or others. In the whole chain (*isnad*) of *Musnad al-Darimi*, Imam Malik is found in 115 chains only. And *Musnad al-Darimi* has been started with the chapter of '*Ayam al-Jahiliyah*' (أيام الجاهلية) followed by the biography of the Prophet and his companions and ended with '*I'adha'il al-Quran*' (فضائل القرآن). Whereas,

¹ - Al-Muwatta lil- Imam Malik, ed & Numbering of Hadith by Muhammad Fuwad Abdul Baqi, introduction, op cit, Vol 1, p (ط) (With reference to Dalil al- Salik ila Muwatta al- Imam Malik of Shaikh Muhammad al- Shinqiti)

² - Tarajim al-Bukhari with al-Fadhl al-Mubin, op cit, p 88, Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Dairat al-Ma'arif al-Nizamiyah, Hyderabad, 1323H/1905, pp 2-3, Dairat al-Ma'arif al-Uthmaniyah, Hyderabad, 1368H/1949, p 1, appended as Muqaddimah of Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit p 13, "فاستنبط من كل حديث" "مسائل كثيرة جدا" و هذا أمر لم يسبقه اليه غيره. For details see infra, Section II 276-77

the *Muwatta* has been started with the chapter of '*Uqut al-Salah*' (وقت الصلاة) and ended with '*Asma al-Nabi*' (أسماء النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم). Moreover, Imam al-Darimi did not declare that he had compiled his *Musnad* for chaining (*isnad*) the Hadiths of the *Muwatta*.¹

The statements of Shah Waliullah on the *Muwatta* Imam Malik has created different opinions among the Arabian and non-Arabian writers. Some of them are saying that the Shah has preferred the *Muwatta* after the book of Allah to all books even to the *Sahih al-Bukhari*. And some of them are stating that Shah's statement in this matter is neutral and he did not preferred the *Muwatta* on *Sahih al-Bukhari*. According to the statement of Dr. Al-Husaini, Shaikh Muhammad Shinqiti (d.1330H./1912) has understood that Shah Waliullah had given the *Muwatta* and *Sahih al-Bukhari* equal position and Imam Malik had compiled the sound book for the first time.² Mr. Baljon said, "Shah Waliullah wholeheartedly endorse the view ascribed to Al-Shafi'i that after the book of God there is no book as sound as the *Muwatta*."³ G N Jalbani with reference to Shah Waliullah said, "After the holy Quran, *Muwatta* is the most correct record of traditions."⁴ A D Muztar said, "He (Shah Waliullah) fully convinced that second to the book of Allah the *Muwatta* was the most authentic book on the earth."⁵

Among the Indian scholars Maulana 'Ubaidullah Sindhi very clearly and strongly said that according to Shah Waliullah *Muwatta* is more sound book after the Quran and it is preferable to *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Moreover, he (Sindhi) claimed that he had understood the speech of Shah Waliullah exactly.⁶ Regarding the basis

¹ - Sunan al-Darimi, ed Abdur Rashid al-Kashmiri, Matba' al-Nizami, Kanpur, 1293H

² - Dr Al-Husaini, Al-Imam al-Bukhari Muhaddithan wa Faqihan, Al-Maktabah al-Islamiyah al-Asriyah, Beirut, n.d. pp 107-8, "أنه لا فرق بين الموطأ والبخاري و صح أن مالكا أول من صنف في الصحيح."

³ - Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah, op cit, p 153

⁴ - Life of Shah Waliullah, op cit, p 56

⁵ - Shah Wali Allah - A Saint scholar, op cit, p 3

⁶ - Al-Furqan. Waliullah Number. op cit, pp 272-73, "میں اسے قبول نہیں کر سکتا کہ جس امر پر مجھے تنبہ ہوا، شاہ صاحب کی نظر ادھر جاہی نہیں سکتی تھی۔"

of Shah Waliullah in this matter the Sindhī stated, "In reform of science of Hadith Shah *Sahib's* thought concentrated in the basis that *Shahih al-Bukhari* is not most sound book among the six sound books but *Muwatta* is the most sound book among them"¹ He further stated that having inspiration from Shah Waliullah to prefer the *Muwatta* to all books obligatorily he became a supporter of it² He added more that Shah Waliullah's reform that the *Muwatta* is the most sound book (after the Quran) appeared to him as worthy and valuable Whereas the latest *Muhaddithin* did not give any attention to this matter³ He further said, "To prefer the *Muwatta* to all books on Hadith and *fiqh* is the method of Shah Waliullah and that is the basic difference between Shah Waliullah and other common *Fuqaha* and *Muhaddithin* And whoever does not understand this fact he would not be counted as the follower of Shah Waliullah"⁴

As a self-announced supporter of Shah Waliullah Maulana Sindhī has mentioned many reasons for preferring the *Muwatta* to *Sahih al-Bukhari* Among those reasons

a - The *Muwatta* is sufficient for understanding the holy Quran As a leading scholar like Shah Waliullah who has found Islam as complete in the holy Quran had no need to any other book for understanding the holy Quran except the *Muwatta* And Those chapters which are not included in the *Muwatta* like *Maghazi*, *Tafsir*, *Fitan*, *Malahim* etc (which are included in the *Bukhari*) are not necessary for understanding the Quran⁵ And the *Muwatta* is very easy book to

¹ - Al-Furqan, Waliullah Number, op cit , p 295 "فر حدیث میں شاہ صاحب کی تجدید اس بنیاد پر مرکوز

ہے کہ صحاح ستہ میں اصح الکتب بخاری نہیں بلکہ موطا ہے

² - Ibid, p 301, "اور شاہ ولی اللہ کا زور تھا کہ موطا کو سب پر ترجیح دینا لازم ہے، اب میں اسکا قائل ہوںے، "اَللّٰہُ کَبِیْرٌ"

³ - Ibid, p 301, "مجھے شاہ ولی اللہ کی یہ تجدید کہ "موطا اصح الکتب ہے برأی العین قدر و قیمت نظر ائی، "لکھی متاخرین محدثین اس حیز کیطرف قطعاً متوجہ نہیں ہے"

⁴ - Ibid, pp 296-97

⁵ - Ibid, pp 297-98, "مگر قرآن سمجھنے کے لئے ان کی تعلیمات کی قطعاً ضرورت نہیں ہے."

teach the young generation in contrast to *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Therefore, the *Muwatta* should be preferred to *Sahih al-Bukhari*.¹

b - There are many Hadiths in *Sahih al-Bukhari* which are disputed, even Hafiz Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani (d 852H./1449) could not give answer to them, therefore the *Muwatta* should be preferred to *Sahih al-Bukhari*.²

c - There are some other problems in *Sahih al-Bukhari* which Maulana Sindhi did not intend to open before the general public but he wished to discuss them before the students of higher level.³

With full respect to Maulana Sindhi, Baljon, Jalbani and A D Muztar, we would like to state that Shah Waliullah did not mention in any place of his any book clearly that the *Muwatta* must be preferred to all books on Hadith or the *Muwatta* is the most sound book on Hadith after the holy Quran. Shah Waliullah merely quoted the speech of Imam Shafi'i (d.204H./820) in this regard. Imam Shafi'i's speech is not Shah Waliullah's own speech. And Imam Shafi'i did not see the *Sahih* of Imam Bukhari (d.256H./870), because he had died before its compilation.⁴ As a book of *fiqh* the Shah said that now a days no book of *fiqh* is more strong than the *Muwatta*.⁵ As a book on Hadith he did not say it

It is true that Shah Waliullah considered the *Muwatta* as a most honourable book and placed it in the first category and started the first category with it. He placed it first mainly because it came first in historical sequence and also because it was a compendium reflecting the genius of the generations of Muslims in Madina who had access to the best sources. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan who

¹ - Al-Furqan, Waliullah Number, op cit , p 300

² - Ibid, p 300

³ - Ibid, p 301, "ان تفاصيل پر مين مجالس عامه مين گفتگو کرنیکا روا دار نهين ... مذاکرات مين سب کهدونگا"

⁴ - See the discussion in the Muqadimah Fath al-Bari, op cit , p 12, and Abdul Hai Lacknowi, Al-Ta'liq al-Mumajjad 'ala Muwatta al-Imam Muhammad, Al-Matba' al-Yusufi, Delhi, n d , p 15

⁵ - Musaffa, introduction, op cit , p 3, see the quotation, supra, p 256

followed the Shah in his classification of books on Hadith also cherished this kind of opinion. As he said, "I have mentioned the *Muwatta* before *Sahih al-Bukhari* because Imam Malik (d 179H/795) and his *Muwatta* are senior than *Bukhari* (d 256H/870) and his *Sahih*"¹ Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi stated, "He gave precedence to the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik in the six most authentic works of Hadith and assigned it the same place as given to *Ibn Majah* by others. He always pleaded to give it precedence in teaching of the subject"²

Many Arabian scholars have quoted Shah Waliullah's statement in this regard but their understanding is quite different from the understanding of Maulana Sindhi and who agreed with him. Dr. Al-Husaini Abdul Majid said, "Shah Waliullah, the *Muhaddith* and *Faqih* described the status of the *Muwatta* and *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* and gave them equal place and first rank among the books on Hadith according to soundness. The researcher will find the Shah upright justice in this regard."³ Professor 'Abdul Wahhab 'Abdul Latif said, "Shah Waliullah has included the *Muwatta* in first rank with *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim*, likewise his son Shah Abdul 'Aziz has done the same."⁴ Shah Abdul Aziz's statement is, "The books of first category on Hadith are three books, those are *Muwatta*, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim*."⁵ Khalil Ibrahim Mullah Kahtir said that the Shah had mentioned that the first rank of books on Hadith was confined to three books, those were *Muwatta*, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*."⁶

Shah Waliullah with his glorifying the *Muwatta* certified *Sahih al-Bukhari* as a absolute sound book. As he said, "As for the two *Sahihs* (*Bukhari* & *Muslim*),

¹ - Al-Hittah fi Zikr al-Sihah al-Sittah, op cit , p 77

² - Saviours of Islamic Spirit, op cit , p 136

³ - Al-Imam al-Bukhari Muhaddithan wa Faqihan, op cit , pp 106-108 "ثم بين ولي الله الدهلوي مكانة الموطأ و الصحيحين من كتب السنة فيضعه في درجة واحدة مع صحيح البخاري و مسلم و بالنظر الى كلام الدهلوي يجد الباحث أن الدهلوي منصف للغاية"

⁴ - Muwatta al-Imam Malik bi Riwayat Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Shaibani, annotation, Prof Abdul Wahhab Abdul Latif, Cairo, 1382H/1962, introduction, p 15

⁵ - 'Ujala-i-Nafi'ah, op cit , p 3 "بس طبعه اولی از كتب حديث سه كتاب اند موطأ صحيح بخاري و صحيح مسلم."

⁶ - Maknat al-Sahihain, Al-Matba'ah al-'Arabiyyah al-Hadithah, Cairo, 1402H , p 47

the Hadith scholars are agreed that all of the uninterrupted Hadiths going back to the Prophet (ﷺ) in them are absolutely sound "¹ In another place the Shah said, "The first of them Abu Abdullah al-Bukhari, whose goal was sorting out the sound and abundantly transmitted Hadiths which went directly back to the Prophet from the other kind of Hadiths, and inferring from them jurisprudence, Prophetic biography and *Tafsir* of the Quran. Thus he compiled his collection, *Al-Jami al-Sahih*, remaining faithful to his conditions. By my life, it (*Sahih al-Bukhari*) has achieved fame and acceptance to a degree beyond which none could possibly aspire "²

And to understand the holy Quran without the Hadiths relating to *Tafsir*, *Maghazi*, *Fitan*, *Malahim* etc is not possible for any scholar of the world. Shah Waliullah did not claim it and could not say this kind of worthless saying. This kind of claiming of Sindhī in so-called favour of Shah Waliullah is illogical, impractical and baseless.

And *Muwatta* is not so easy book as stated by Maulana Sindhī. If it is so easy book then why the scholars have worked on it from the very earlier time till to day? And why Shah Waliullah has written two explanations of it? According to Shah Waliullah's report the *Muwatta* is the mother book of all basic books on Hadith compiled after it, and it is the basis of four *mazhabs* of *fiqh*. And it comprises the *athars* of *Sahaba* and *Tabi'in* and legal opinions of earlier scholars as well as many other complicated and controversial matters. Is this kind of book easy? Moreover, is the easiness or hardness the basis of soundness or weakness of any Hadith or any book on Hadith? No, but the basis of soundness of a Hadith is the certain qualities of its transmitters and the basis of ranking of book on Hadith is soundness and reputation as it has been stated by Shah Waliullah.

¹ - Hujjatullah al-Baligha, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al-Hadith, op cit, p 1/322

² - Ibid, Chapter Al-Farq Baina Ahl al-Hadith wa Ashab al-Rai, p 1/364 " أولهم أبو عبد الله ولعمري، أنه نال من الشهرة والقول درجة لا يرام فوقها " النحاري

Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani never said in any place of his any book that he could not answer to the objections raised about some Hadiths of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, but he gave answer to every disputed Hadith and said that all those Hadiths were sound and objections were not proper¹ So, Maulana Sindhi's claim in this regard is baseless.

Lastly, to claim that there are some defects in *Sahih al-Bukhari* and then conceal them to discuss before higher level students later on is not however, honest academic attitude. Either one should talk with proper documents or keep silent, but this kind of disfaming attitude towards a book like *Sahih al-Bukhari* without sound evidences and without clarification is not acceptable at all As regards the highest position and respect of *Sahih al-Bukhari* the Shah himself said, "And whoever holds them (*Sahih al-Bukhari and Muslim*) in contempt is an innovator in religion who is following the path of the disbelievers."²

Reason for work on the Muwatta: In this regard Shah Waliullah said, "For long time the differences among the *Fuqaha* and various groups of learneds and rigidity of each one in his own view have been worried me. It was a necessary duty to fix up a way to action, whereas to fix something without reference is sophistry, and the ways of preference are various, and the learneds have disagreed in them excessively. Then I travelled to right and left, here and there without having any benefit, and sought help from many persons without result Lastly, I turned to Allah in prayer to show me right path. Then I was given a hint to have a recourse to the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik."³ Having inspiration from Allah the Shah has worked on the *Muwatta* two works, one is in Arabic named *Al-*

¹ - Hadiy al-Sari, Muqaddimah Fath al- Bari, op cit , pp 364- 402 We have discussed the matter earlier Supra, Chapter V, Section III, p 235- 36

² - Hujjatullah, Chapter Tabaqat Kutub al- Hadith, op cit , pp 1/322-23, "وأنه كل من يهون أمرهما فهو مبتدع متبع غير سبيل المؤمنين."

³ - Musaffa, introduction, op cit , p 3, "فقير را مدتی بسبب اختلاف مذاهب فقهاء و کثرت احزاب علماء پس اشاره بکتاب موطا که تالیف امام مالک بن انس است واقع شد...."

Musauwa and other is in Persian named *Musaffa*¹ In another place the Shah has mentioned that the desire to transmit the *Muwatta* and then explain it had been grown in his mind²

B- Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta : This work is in Arabic language and it was written in 1164H/1751³ According to Shah Waliullah's statement his basic works in *Al-Musauwa* as mentioned below

- 1- He should arrange the Hadiths of *Muwatta* in such a way that would be easy to reception
- 2- He should make the chapters which include a similar group of Hadith from which the majority of *Fuqaha* inferred the judicial opinions, and should add with them the *Ayats* of the Quran⁴ commensurable with them and which every *Faqih* must memorize as well as mention their explanations which he (*Faqih*) should know
- 3- He should mention the opinions of *Hanafite* and *Shafi'ite* in every chapter, because those are the largest *mazhab* now a days and they have written almost books in the religious subjects He should not bring the verdicts of other *mazhabs* but in rare case, for making the book easy for readers
- 4- He should describe the comments of *Imams* on Imam Malik with gentle hinting if those comments are supported by the sound and clear Hadiths
- 5- In case of need, he should describe the meanings of uncommon hard words of Hadiths (*gharib al-Hadith*) and fix the spelling and pronunciation of difficult words (*dhabt mushkil*) and jurisprudential meanings with mentioning the effective causes

¹ - Publication details of the two books have been mentioned earlier in chapter II, section V, p 66

² - *Musaffa*, introduction, op cit , p 11 " این امور شوق روایت موطا اولاً و شرح آن ثانیاً پیدا کرد "

³ - *Al-Musauwa*, op cit , p 2/506 The Shah said, "وقد وقع الفراغ من تصديقه على ما شرطناه في صدره وكان ذلك يوم الجمعة السادس والعشرين من حمادى الأولى سنة ألف ومائة وأربع وستين "

⁴ - Perhaps Shah Waliullah has followed the example of Imam al-Bukhari in mentioning the suitable *Ayats* of the Quran with the Hadiths and chapters

of judicial orders and their classes and the interpretation of Hadiths according to both mazhabs and so on.

6- He should not try to mention the references from the compilers of six basic books on Hadith but in rare case, because the *Ulama* have finished this work ¹

It is notable here that while arranging the *Muwatta* the Shah has changed the chapterization of all his predecessors who transmitted the *Muwatta* according to the transmission of Yahya bin Yahya al-Masmudi (d.234H/849), like Ibn Abdul Barr (d.463H./1071), Al-Siyuti (d.911H./1505) and Muhammad Abdul Baqi al-Zurqani (d.1122H./1710). All of them started their books with the chapter of "Times of prayer" (وقوت الصلاة), and began with the Hadith: "Yahya bin Yahya from Malik from Ibn Shihab (Zuhri): "One day 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz performed the prayer lately....."² This Hadith has been mentioned by Shah Waliullah under the chapter adopted by himself: "Arriving of Jibril ('Am.) and fixing by him the times of prayer for the Prophet" (برول جبريل عليه السلام و يعينه أوقات الصلاة للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم)³ Whereas Shah Waliullah started his book with the "Part of prayer" and the chapter of "Five prayers are one of the pillars of Islam" (كتاب لصلاة : باب الصلوات الخمس أحد أركان الاسلام), and began with the Hadith: "Malik from his uncle Abu Suhail bin Malik from his father who heard Talha bin Ubaidullah saying that a man from Najd had come to the Prophet....."⁴ This Hadith has been transmitted by Ibn Abdul Barr in the chapter of "*Jami` Al- Targhib fi- al-Salah*" (جامع الترعيب في الصلاة),⁵ and by Al-Siyuti⁶ and Al-Zurqani also in the same chapter.⁷ It is also mentionable here that according to the chapterization of Shah Waliullah the number of total chapters are

¹ - Al- Musauwa, introduction, op cit , pp 63- 64, Musauwa with Musaffa, introduction, op cit , pp 11-15

² - Ibn Abdul Barr, Al- Tamhid, op cit , p 1/73, Al- Syuti, Tanwir al-Hawalik, op cit , p 1/13, Al-Zurqani, Zurqani, Sharh al-Muwatta, op cit , pp 11-15

³ - Al- Musauwa, pp 1/105-6, Hadith no 109, Musaffa with Musauwa, p 69

⁴ - Ibid, p 1/ 67, Hadith no 1, Musauwa with Musaffa, p 22

⁵ - Al- Tamhid, p 5/199

⁶ - Tanwir al- Hawalik, pp 1/188-89

⁷ - Sharh al- Muwatta, pp 1/318-20

918,¹ and according to the copy of Muhammad Fuwad `Abdul Baqi (d.1388H / 1962) those are 711² Allah knows best.

Shah Waliullah has further expressed his desire that the *Musauwa* would include five kinds of legal orders (*Ahkam*), Those are :

- 1- Which has been proved by the textual evidences of the Quran.
- 2- Which has been established by *mustafidh* Hadith.
- 3- Or by the strong Hadiths transmitted in every chapter.
- 4- Or by the unanimous opinion of *Sahaba* and *Tabi`in*.
- 5- Or which has been inferred by Imam Malik and followed by some groups of *Fuqaha* who are expert in Hadith.³

The Shah has given some important notes on this book. Those are :

1- The book has been compiled according to the transmission of Yahya bin Yahya al-Masmudi (d.234H./849). In case of need, in some places one Hadith has been distributed into two chapters abiding by the adopted rules of *Muhaddithin*, and some times one Hadith has been mentioned twice.

2- All Hadiths and *athars* of the *Muwatta* have been included in this copy. And from the Imam Malik's speeches : "the *sunnat* is such and such" and his inferences only those have been mentioned which have been accepted by one of the two *mazhabs* (*Hanafi* and *Shafi`i*), and the others have not been mentioned except in a very little places.⁴

¹ - Counted according to the separated copy of al- Musauwa pulbished from Beirut in 1403H /1983, op cit

² - Counted according to the copy published from Dar al- Kutub al-`Arabiyah, Egypt, 1370H /1951, op cit

³ - Al- Musauwa, introduction, op cit , p 64, Musauwa with Musaffa, introduction, op cit , pp 16- 17

⁴ - Ibid, introduction, pp 64- 65, Musauwa with Musaffa, introduction, pp 18- 19

It is worthy of mention here that according to the statement of Imam Ibn Abdul Barr(d 463H /1071) whose copy of *Muwatta* is more reputed and more strong as per the statement of Shah Waliullah,¹ the total Hadith of *Muwatta* transmitted by Yahya bin Yahya along with *musnads*, *mursals* and *munqats* are 835, and the total *balaghat* and his own *mursals* are 61² Shah Waliullah mentioned that Imam Abu Bakr al-Abhari (d 375H /986) said, "The total number of reports from the Prophet and *Sahaba* and *Tabi'in* in the *Muwatta* are 1720 Among them chained (*musnads*) are 600, *mursals* are 222, *mauqufs* are 613 and the opinions of *Tabi'in* are 275³

According to the counting of this researcher based upon the numbering of Muhammad Fuwad Abdul Baqi who seemingly followed the copy of *Ianwir al-Hawalik* of Imam Siyuti, the total number of Hadiths of *Muwatta* are 1817⁴ And as per the copy of *Al-Musauwa* of Shah Waliullah which has been edited by Ubaidullah Hindi and 'Abdul Wahhab al-Dihlawi and others, the total transmission of Imam Malik along with *marfu's*, *mursals* and *maqufs* are 1933 The *balaghat* of Malik are 221 and his own opinions are 302⁵ Allah knows best

Regarding the *Musauwa* Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi said, "As for me, the study of *Musauwa Sharh Muwatta* of Shah Waliullah after the holy Quran is sufficient for obtaining the knowledge of Hadith and *fiqh*"⁶ With full respect to Maulana Sindhi we would like to state that the *Muwatta* is a honourable mother book of Hadith and *fiqh*, there is no doubt in it, but it is not a complete book on Hadith and *fiqh* As well as the *Musauwa* is not a complete explanatory book of

¹ "شيخ ابن عبد البر كتاب تمهيد بسحه بهاده كه اشهران و اقوى اند" Musaffa, introduction, op cit , p 7

² "جميع ما في هذا الديوان من حديث مالك رواية" Al- Tamhid, op cit , (Khatimah) Vol 16, pp 513, 516
يحيى بن يحيى ثمانمائة وثلاثة وخمسون حديثا ، ومن بلاغات مالك عن الثقات و ما أرسله عن نفسه أنه بلغه احد و ستون حديثا "

³ - Musaffa, introduction, p 9

⁴ - Based upon the copy Al- Muwatta lil- Imam Malik, op cit

⁵ See the separate copy of Al- Musauwa published from Beirut in 1403H /1983 op cit

⁶ "قرآن عظیم کی بعد شاہ ولی اللہ کی کتاب مسوئی شرح موطا کا بڑھنا حدیث اور فقہ کیلئے کافی سمجھتا ہوں"

Muwatta. It is a very concised short note book on the *Muwatta*. Generally, it has dealt with two great *mazhabs* (*Hanafi* and *Shafi'i*) without detailed discussion, and very little number of Hadiths have been used in it as document, those are also without mentioning reference, as it has been stated by the Shah himself in the introduction of relevant book. There are thousands of Hadith and judicial opinions available in Islamic educational books which are not available either in *Al-Muwatta* or in the *Musauwa* of Shah Waliullah. Shah Waliullah has informed clearly about the matters of discussion in the introduction of *Al-Musauwa* which have been mentioned recently. In presence of these vital and practical evidences Maulana Sindhi's above mentioned statement about the *Musauwa* is not acceptable at all

C - Musaffa Sharh Muwatta : This work is in Persian language Shah Waliullah had a keen interest in transmitting the *Muwatta* and then explaining it¹ Moreover, it was his wish to find a formula for conciliation and compromising among the contentious of schools of *fiqh*. Then by the heavenly inspiration he selected the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik and explained it under the title of *Musaffa*²

The Shah has compiled this book towards the latter part of his life but due to his many other literary engagement he could not prepare the fair-copy. After his death the manuscript had been duly edited by his famous pupils Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq and Khawaja Muhammad Amin.³ So the *Musaffa* is posthumous work of Shah Waliullah.

According to Shah Waliullah's statement the *Musaffa* includes following basic points :

1- Arranging the legal opinions of this book according to the books on *fiqh*.

¹ - Musaffa, introduction, op cit , p 11

² - Ibid, introduction, p 3

³ - "و این شرح در حیات مؤلف 152- 53 Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Ithaf al- Nubala, op cit , pp 152- 53 مسوده پیش نمود، بعد انتقال حضرت و اعظم خلفائے مسوده مذکور تبیض نمود." See also, Dr Ishaq,

- 2- Adding the *Ayats* of the Quran commensurable with every chapter
- 3- Translating the *Ayats* of the Quran and all Hadith into Persian language
- 4- Explaining the uncommon hard words (*gharib al-Hadith*).
- 5- Describing the disagreements of *Fuqaha* in every legal opinion, then fixing up the words in the texts, then inferring the effective cause of every legal order, then mentioning the comments of Imam Shafi'i. These are the difficult points of *ijtihad*.
- 6- As well as discussing on the chaining (*wasl*) of *mursal* Hadiths
- 7- And the sources of argument in the speeches of *Sahaba* and *Tabi'in* which is the very complicated knowledge of *Muhaddithun*¹

About the *Musaffa* Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan said that this book had been written on perfect way and based upon the method of *ijtihad*.² According to the arrangement of Hadiths of *Muwatta* and chapterization and adding the suitable *Ayats* of the Quran to the chapters, both the *Musauwa* and *Musaffa* are same. In some copies of the *Musauwa* it is found that Shah Waliullah said, "It is firmly decided by me that I should explain it in Persian language also."³ As per the opinion of Dr. Ishaq, the bulk of the *Musaffa* is larger than that of the *Musauwa* eight times, as well as it is more comprehensive than the *Musauwa*.⁴

¹ - *Musaffa*, introduction, op cit , p 11, " ترتیب و تبویب مسائل فقهیه ... از غوامض علوم محدثین است "

² - *Ithaf al-Nubala*, op cit , p 152 " این شرح ... و دقیق و مجتهدانه. "

³ - *Al-Musauwa*, introduction, (Beirut) op cit , p 64 " وقد تأكد العزم مني أن أشرحه أيضا شرحا بالفارسية " "

⁴ India's Contribution to Hadith Literature, op cit , p 178

Section II - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari

One of the most important, deep and painstaking works of Shah Waliullah on Hadith is his "*Risalah Sharh Tarajim Abwab Sahih al-Bukhari*"¹ Imam Bukhari's (d 256H/870) system of chapterization of his *Sahih al-Bukhari*, entitling the chapters and their contents are very complicated and controversial subject, as well as those are thrilling, marvelous and surprising matters This is the monument of his supremacy, presidency and highest position in the science of Hadith and *fiqh*, and brilliant document of his penetrating and deep insight and unparalleled ability to deduce the judicial verdict and derive other knowledge from the Hadith

Understanding the meaning of many chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and comprehension the proportional relation (*munasabah*) among the titles of chapters and the Hadiths placed under them is not so easy matter but very hard and difficult subject Consequently that is the task of erudite and expert in Hadith and *fiqh* It is also notable here that Imam Bukhari has repeatedly mentioned one Hadith in various places of his *Sahih* under different titles of chapters for different objectives² In view of the above, this saying of scholars "The knowledge or judicial verdict of Imam Bukhari is hidden in the titles of chapters (مفه السحاري في) (براحمه)"³ has become so famous³

In this regard Shah Waliullah said, "Imam Bukhari has tried his best to deduce the verdicts from the Hadiths and derived various legal opinions from only one Hadith There has never been one who practice this system before him

¹ - Publication details and some other important notes have been given earlier in chapter II, section V, p 67

² - Ibn Hajar Asqalani, *Hadith al- Sari Muqaddimah Fath al- Bari*, op cit , pp 13, 15-18

³ - Ibid, p 16

Moreover, he distributed the Hadiths¹ under the chapters in a perfect manner and deposited in the titles of chapters² the secrets of deduction ”³

Some renowned scholars of Hadith have tried and spent their exertions to solve the problems and remove the difficulties and uncover the mysteries of those critical and ambiguous chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, as well as they took the initiatives to devise means and method for commensuration among the titles of chapters and the Hadiths which have been set up under them, and have written separate books on this subject.

It is worthy of mention here that the prominent explainer of *Sahih al-Bukhari* like Hafiz Ibn Hajar al-`Asqalani (d. 852H./1449) in his *Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, `Allama Badruddin al-`Ayni (d.855H./1451), in his *Umdat al-Qari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, `Allama Shihabuddin al-Qastallani (d.923H./1517) in his *Irshad al-Sari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* and others have tried their best in their

¹ - According to the statement of Imam Ibn al-Salah the total number of Hadiths of Sahih al-Bukhari with repetition are 7275 and without repetition are 4000 (Muqddimah fi `Ulum al-Hadith, op cit , p 10) Above said number has been accepted by Hafiz al-`Iraqi (Al-Taqid wal-Iidhah, op cit , p 31, and Imam al-Nawawi (Tadrib Shrah Taqrib, op.cit , p 1/102), and `Allama Badruddin al-`Ayni (Umdat al-Qari, introduction, op cit , p 1/25) Hafiz Ibn Hajar `Asqalani stated that above said number was not correct and it was happened due to miscounting by Ibn al-Salah and his successors had followed him without investigation (Hadiy al-Sari, op cit , p 489) He further added that the total Hadith with repetition and without *mu`allaqs* and *mutaba'ats* are 7397, and total number of Hadiths with repetition and without *mauqufs* and *maqt'us* are 9082, and total number of *mu`allaqs* are 134 (Ibid, pp 492-93) But according to latest revision and enumeration of Muhammad Fuwad `Abdul Baqi the total number of Hadiths of Sahih al-Bukhari are 7563 Now a days this number has been accepted and followed by Muslim world and by the publishers (See the last Hadith of Sahih al-Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, ibid, and last Hadith of Sahih al-Bukhari with `Umdat al-Qari, ibid, and Mawsu'at al-Hadith al-Sharif (combined print of six basic books of Hadith), revision and supervision Shaikh Salih bin `Abdul `Aziz al-Shaikh, Dar al-Salam, Riyadh, 1420H./1999

² - According to the statement of Imam Shamsuddin al-Kirmani (d 786H) in his *Irshad al-Sari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, the parts (kitab) of Sahih al-Bukhari are 160 and the chapters (bab) are 3450 (Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, `Aun al-Bari li Halli Adillat al-Bukhari, Al-Matba'ah al-`Arabiyah al-Hadithah, Cairo, 1404H /1986, introduction, p 1/51) But according to the observation of this researcher based upon the latest revision and numbering of Sahih al-Bukhari by Shaikh Muhammad Fuwad Abdul Baqi the parts (kitab) of Sahih al-Bukhari are 97, and the chapters (bab) are 3914

³ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Dairat al-Ma`arif al-Nizamiyah copy, op cit , pp 2-3, Dairat al-Ma`arif al-`Uthmaniyah copy, op cit , p 1, appended as Muqaddimah Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit , p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Al-Fadhl al-Mubin, op cit ,88

explanatory books of *Sahih al-Bukhari* to solve the problems relating to the titles of chapters of *Shahih al-Bukhari*. It is also mentionable here that the latter mentioned two scholars and whoever taken initiative to this subject have been benefited and collected their materials from Hafiz Ibn Hajar directly or indirectly

The most ancient writers who worked on the relevant subject individually and wrote separate books in it were 'Allama Ahmad bin Muhammad Nasiruddin Ibn al-Munayir (d.683H./1284) who wrote '*Al-Mutauwari 'ala Abwab al-Bukhari*', and Qadhi Badruddin Ibn Jama'ah (d.733H./1333) who wrote the '*Munasabat Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*'. Hafiz Ibn Hajar has mentioned both books with admiration and certified that those were good works on the relevant subject and added that Ibn al-Munayir had discussed on 400 chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, then Qadhi Badruddin Ibn Jama'ah has summarized them and added somethings to them.¹ In spite of Hafiz Ibn Hajar's above said statement the latest edition of *Al-Mutauwari* shows that the number of chapters which have been discussed by Ibn al-Munayir are 372.² Ibn al-Munayir himself stated that he had found the difficulties in near about four hundred titles of chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari*.³ Qadhi Badruddin Ibn Jama'ah has discussed on 257 titles of chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari* in his *Munasabat Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*.⁴

Shah Waliullah has discussed on 24 parts (*kitab*) and 359 chapters (*bah*) of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, the total of which is 383. This proves that the Shah has discussed on more points than any other writers who have written separate books in the relevant matter. Although the Shah named his book '*Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*' (explanation of titles of chapters of al-Bukhari) he did not explain them only but tried his best to show the way to commensurate among the titles of

¹ - Hadiy al-Sari, op cit , p 16

² - See 'Allama Nasiruddin Ibn al-Munayir, *Al-Mutauwari 'ala Abwab al-Bukhari*, ed & commentary by 'Ali Hasan Abdul Hamid, Al-Maktab al-Islami, Beirut, 1411H/1990 (total pgs 491)

³ - Ibid, introduction, p 39 "و مجموع ما وجدت له من هذه الأنواع قريب أربع مائة ترجمة."

⁴ - Qadhi Badruddin Ibn Jama'ah, *Munasabat Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*, ed & commentary by Muhammad Ishaq Salafi, Dar al-Salafiyah, Bombay, 1404H/1984, (total pgs 161)

chapters and Hadiths placed under them. It is also right that through the explanation of the chapters the congruence of Hadiths with them became more easy and clear. This book simultaneously deals with many important matters relating to understanding the meanings of chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, and comprehension the relation among the chapters and Hadiths, as well as the subtle matters of the science of Hadith and *fiqh*. From this point of view also the Shah is more advanced than other writers who worked on the relevant subject separately.

About this book Shaikh Muhammad Ishaq Salafi stated, "Shah Waliullah has explained the titles of chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari* from first to last of his book. After study the book it is proved that the Shah had not described the proportional relation among the titles of chapters and Hadiths. He merely explained the chapters and clarified their meanings and rarely entered into the way of commensuration among the chapters and Hadiths. There is no objection, because the Shah has named his book 'Explanation of the titles of chapters of *Al-Bukhari*'"¹

Refuting the above said opinion this researcher would like to state that the practical investigation and rigorous study prove that Shaikh Ishaq has given a misinformation about the book and his statement on the book is baseless and wrong. The Shah has dealt with the explanation of chapters as well as commensuration among the chapters and Hadiths in many places of his book by using relating words directly or indirectly. The directly relating words have been used in near about 170 places of the book. Those words like: 'Way to relation of chapter with the Hadith' (وجه تعلق الترجمة), 'Proportional relation of the chapter of Hadith' (دلالة الحديث), 'Indication of Hadith to the chapter' (مطابقة ترجمة الحديث و ماسة ترجمة الحديث), 'Intention of compiler (Bukhari) or aim of compiler at holding this chapter' (على السب), 'Objective of chapter or aim of chapter' (مقصود الباب أو عرض), (عرض المؤلف أو قصد المؤلف بعقد الباب) and so on.

¹ - Munasabat Tarajim Abwab al- Bukhari, Qadhi Badruddin Ibn Jama'ah, introduction, op cit , p 14

It is worthy of mention here that Shah Waliullah's main target in explaining the titles of chapters is to describe the relation among the chapters and Hadiths, unless there was no keen necessity for explaining them. Moreover, the Shah has mentioned thirteen points in his booklet *Tarajim al-Bukhari*,¹ which is the introductory page of *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*² about the ways to commensuration among the titles of chapters and the Hadiths set up under them. In presence of these documents and evidences how one can say that the Shah in this book dealt with the explanation of chapters only and did not deal with the commensuration of chapters with Hadith but in a very rare case? In the beginning of *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* Shah Waliullah has given a guide line to the theme, nature and method of chapterization and entitling the chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, as well as mentioned the way to commensurate among the ambiguous chapters and Hadiths set up under them. In this regard 'Allama Ibn al-Munayir has mentioned 8 points³ and Qadhi Badruddin Ibn Jama'ah has mentioned 3 points⁴ as example in the introduction of their books. Hafiz Ibn Hajar Summarized the matters in near about 10 points⁵. Sometimes he quoted Ibn al-Munayir and Ibn Jama'ah in his *Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Hadiy al-Sari Muqaddimah Fath al-Bari*. Whereas Shah Waliullah has summarized the points of commensuration among the chapters and Hadiths of *Sahih al-Bukhari* in 13 points.

Seemingly Shah Waliullah has been benefited from *Hadiy al-Sari* and *Fath al-Bari* of Ibn Hajar and arranged the theme and thought by his own language and added to them many things from himself. Although there are many similarities between the theme and language of the Shah and Hafiz Ibn Hajar he was not

¹ - See *Tarajim al-Bukhari*, with *Al-Musalsalat* and *Al-Durr al-Thamin*, op cit, pp 88-91

² - See *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*, Nizamiyah, op cit, pp 3-6, Uthmaniyyah, op cit pp 1-5, With *Sahih al-Bukhari*, op cit, p 13

³ - *Al-Mutauwar ala Abwab al-Bukhari*, Ibn al-Munayir, introduction, op cit, pp- 37-38

⁴ - *Munasabat Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*, op cit, p 26

⁵ - *Hadiy al-Sari*, op cit, pp 15-16

blind follower of Ibn Hajar. Some times the Shah referred to Hafiz Ibn Hajar¹ and some times referred to Allama al-Qasatallani, the compiler of *Irshad al-Sari Shah Sahih al-Bukhari*, but as a great *muhaddith* he expressed his disagreement with him and exposed his opinion on relevant subject with full confidence²

There is a remarkable point here that in a place of his book Shah Waliullah has commented on Imam Bukhari's system of arranging some Hadiths under a certain chapter, and given his personal opinion. He has mentioned the chapter of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. "The Imam is appointed to be followed. The Prophet in his fatal illness led the people in prayer while he was sitting (and the people were standing)"³, and (the Shah) said that Imam Bukhari by mentioning this speech

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit, p 130, Uthmaniyyah, op cit p 130 with Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit, p 32, Chapter of "Consummation of marriage during the daytime without a marriage procession or lighting of fires" (باب النكاح بالنهار بغير مركب ولا نيران) in the part of marriage. With reference to Fath al-Bari of Ibn Hajar and Irshad al-Sari of al-Qasatallani the Shah said that in the times of ignorance (jahiliyyat) they used to light the fire before the bridegroom (Imam Bukhari tried to disapprove that custom in this chapter) (See also Sahih al-Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, op cit, chapter 61, Part marriage, Hadith no 5160, Vol 9 p 132). In the chapter of "Artificial hair holding lady" (باب الموصولة), part of dress (كتاب اللباس), Shah Waliullah has mentioned a part of Hadith -- "that means the Prophet (PBUH) has cursed them (artificial hair holders)" and said that in the Fath al-Bari (Hafiz Ibn Hajar) said that the meaning of above explanation was not clear to me except supposing the meaning that Allah has cursed them by the tongue of his Prophet (Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, ed Nizamiyah, p 121, Uthmaniyyah p 131 with Bukhari, p 32, Fath al-Bari, p 10/392). Shah Waliullah said that the meaning of above said explanation as for me -- Allah knows best -- may be two. One is -- information from Allah that He cursed so and so. And the second is -- cursing from the Prophet (PBUH) to those who do such deed. And the mentioned explanation in the Hadith is only the second one (Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, p 121, Uthmaniyyah, p 131, with Bukhari, p 32 Hadith no 5943, chapter 58 Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, p 10/391).

² - Shah Waliullah has expressed his disagreement with Allama al-Qasatallani in 6 places of his Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari. Those are: 1- Chapter "How the menstruating women pay *ihram* for Hajj and Umrah" (كيف تهل الحائض للحج والعمرة), (Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah p 43, Uthmaniyyah, p 45, with Bukhari, p 19). 2- Chapter "Women should not to perform the prayers in lieu of missed prayers due to menstruation" (لا تقضي الحائض الصلاة), (ibid, Nizamiyah p 43, Uthmaniyyah, p 45, with Bukhari, p 19). 3- Chapter "Prostrating on a garment" (السجود على الثوب), (ibid Nizamiyah, p 51, Uthmaniyyah, p 54, with Bukhari, p 21). 4- Chapter "Prayer in a Mosque situated in the market" (الصلاة في مسجد السوق), (ibid, Nizamiyah, p 58, Uthmaniyyah, p 61, with Bukhari, p 22). 5- Chapter "Prayer after and before Jum'ah (Friday) prayer" (الصلاة بعد الجمعة وقبلها), (ibid Nizamiyah, 83, Uthmaniyyah, 90, with Bukhari, p 26). 6- Chapter "Walking and riding for the Eid prayer (المشي والركوب الى العيد)", (ibid, Nizamiyah, p 86, Uthmaniyyah, p 93, with Bukhari, p 26).

³ - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, Chapter 51, Part Azan, p 2/203

in the chapter had indicated to the fact that this part of ordinance¹ had been abrogated (*mansukh*) by latest action of the Prophet (PBUH) when he prayed himself sitting and the followers prayed behind him standing and he (Prophet) ordered them to do so² The Shah said that the compiler (Imam Bukhari) had mentioned the abrogater (*nasikh*) Hadith³ firstly and abrogated (*mansukh*) Hadith⁴ lastly⁵ Had he (Bukhari) reversed (by setting abrogated Hadith firstly and abrogater Hadith lastly) it would have been the best arrangement⁶ This kind of statement and commentary on Imam Bukhari is the monument of Shah Waliullah's rigorous study, proper observation and sharp merit, as well as of his skillfulness in arranging the materials perfectly in a high ranked book and excellent research work

Through the book of *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* Shah Waliullah has taken an initiative to work on a very difficult, complicated and controversial matters of highest-ranked book on Hadith and successfully reached his goal As it has been mentioned recently that the Shah had mentioned 13 points as a guide line to understanding the relation among the titles of chapters of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and Hadiths set up under them About those points the Shah said, "Whoever wants to read and understand the *Bukhari* he should memorize this introduction (which

¹ - Part of Hadith in which the Prophet said, "The Imam has been appointed to be followed When he prays standing (you have to) pray standing (behind him) and when he prays sitting pray (behind him) sitting (اما جعل الامام ليؤتم به، فاذا صلى قائما فصلوا قايما، واذا صلى خالسا فصلوا جلوسا) (Chapter 5 part Azan, Hadith no 688, 689, Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, op cit, p 2/203)

² - Hadith no 687, chapter 51, part Azan, Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, p 2/203

³ - The Hadith which permits the followers to pray standing behind the sitting Imam (Ibid, p 2/203 Hadith no 687, chapter 51, part Azan)

⁴ - The Hadith in which the Prophet ordered the followers to pray standing if Imam prays standing and to pray sitting if Imam prays sitting (Ibid, pp 2/203-4, chapter, 51, part Azan, Hadith no 688-689)

⁵ - Although Imam Bukhari has indicated to the abrogation and the Shah has supported him Hafiz Ibn Hajar stated that there was no abrogative case in that place Because two Hadiths were relating with two different events and ordinance, therefore, there was no contradiction between them and conciliation between them was possible without abrogation (For details see Fath al-Bari pp 2/206-8)

⁶ - *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*, Nizamiyah, op cit, pp 67-70, Uthmaniyyah, op cit, p 74 with Bukhari, op cit, p 24

includes those 13 points).¹ Considering the importance of those 13 points we are going to mention them with necessary comments and comparison with other authentic books relating to the subject. Those are as below :

1- Sometimes Imam Bukhari entitles the chapter with a *marfu`* Hadith which has not been proved to him according to his own conditions,² then he sets up under the chapter the witness Hadith (*shahid*) which is suitable to his adopted conditions in favour of the Hadith (by which he made the title of chapter).³ It is notable here that the theme of this point has been mentioned by Hafiz Ibn Hajar (d.852H/1449).⁴

2- Sometimes Imam Bukhari entitles the chapter with a legal opinion (*mas`alah*) which he has deduced from the Hadith mentioned under the chapter, either from its text or indication or generality (عموم) or gesticulation (إيماء) or theme.⁵ The purport of this point has been mentioned by Hafiz Ibn Hajar.⁶

3- Sometimes Imam Bukhari entitles the chapter with the view which he adopted previously, then he places it under the chapter with something (Hadith) which indicates to the view (in the chapter), or it would be the witness in the sentence (Hadith) in favour of the view, but without giving certain preference to the view. As

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op.cit., pp. 3-6, `Uthmaniyah, op.cit., pp. 2-5, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Al-Musalsalat, op. cit., p. 91. "فهذه مقدمة لا بد من حفظها لمن أراد أن يقرأ البخاري ويفهمه."

² - The basic conditions of Imam Bukhari in compiling his Sahih are : He transmits only sound Hadith, and transmits the Hadith of most trustworthy transmitters, and the meeting between the transmitter and from whom he transmits must be proved. (Hadiy al-Sari, op. cit., pp. 11, Nuzhat al-Nazar, op.cit., pp.42-43, Ibn al-Salah, op.cit., pp.11-13, Shurut al-Ayimmah al-Sittah of Al-Maqdisi op. cit., pp.10-13, Shurut al-Ayimmah al-Khamsah of Al-Hazimi, op. cit., pp. 22-28, 43.

³ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, p. 3, Uthmaniyah, p. 2, with Bukhari, p.13, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Musalsalat, p. 89.

⁴ - Hadiy al- Sari, p. 16.

⁵ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, p. 3, Uthmaniyah, p. 2, with Bukhari, p. 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Musalsalat, p. 89.

⁶ - Hadiy al-Sari, p. 16.

for example he (Bukhari) says . "Some person who said like this" ¹ (باب من قال كذا)
The gist of this point has been mentioned by Hafiz Ibn Hajar.²

4- Sometimes Imam Bukhari entitles the chapter with a legal opinion (*mas'alah*) in which the Hadiths are variant, then he brings up those different Hadiths for making them nearer to jurist (*Faqih*), whereas he (*Faqih*) was far from the subject matter of those Hadiths. As the chapter: "Going out of women for defecation" (باب خروج النساء الى السراير)³ Shah Waliullah said⁴ that in this chapter Imam Bukhari had put together two different Hadiths.⁵

The Shah did not mention the nature of difference and conciliation between those Hadiths. Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that these Hadiths were related to different causes of revelation of women's veil (*hijab*).⁶ `Allama Badruddin `Ayni (d.855H./1451) said that Imam Bukhari through these two Hadiths indicated to the fact that going out of the house of women for defecation was permissible when the latrines were not available in the houses, but when those were made in the houses the women were prohibited from going out of houses but in case of necessary.⁷

5- Sometimes the documents (Hadiths) appear to Imam Bukhari as contradictory and at the same time in his (Bukhari) mind there is a way to conciliate among them, that is, to use every contradictory Hadith in different and separate meaning

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, p 3, Uthmaniyah, p 2, with Bukhari, p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari, p 89 As for instance . Imam Bukhari has made a chapter "Whoever said that one muazzin should perform Azan in journey" (باب من قال: ليؤذن في السفر مؤذن واحد), Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, Chapter 17, part Azan, op cit , p 2/130

² - Hadiy al-Sari, p 16

³ - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, p 1/299, Chapter 13, part Udhu

⁴ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit , p 3, Uthmaniyah, op cit , p 2, with Bukhari, op cit , p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari, op cit , p 89

⁵ - Under the mentioned chapter two Hadiths have been placed Both have been transmitted by `Ayisha (R) relating with going out of house of women for defecation and their viel (hijab) (Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, pp 1/299- 300, chapter 13, part Udhu, Hadith no 146, 147

⁶ - Ibid, pp 1/300-301

⁷ - `Umdat al-Qari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, op cit , p 2/401

and manner. Then he entitles the chapter by that specific meaning with indication to the way of conciliation. Like the chapter: "The fear of believer that his good deed may be annulled without his knowledge and one should be afraid, not to persist in fighting and disobedience (of Allah)" (باب خوف المؤمن أن يحبط عمله و هو لا يتعبر و ما يحذر)

Under this chapter he (Bukhari) has mentioned the Hadith .¹ من الأصرار على القتال و العصيلد

"Abusing a Muslim is an evil doing and killing (fighting) him is disbelieving" (سباب)

² المسلم فسوق و قتاله كفر

Shah Waliullah has mentioned the matter in a very short and abridged sentence without clarification.³ Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that in this place Imam Bukhari had wanted to refute the *Murjiah* sect,⁴ at the same time he did not support the *Khawarij*.⁵ So, the meaning of disbelieving (*kufr*) here is not going out of the Muslim nation but it means here doing as the deed of disbelievers.⁶ `Allama `Ayni followed Ibn Hajar on the aforesaid view.⁷

6- Sometimes Imam Bukhari accumulates many Hadiths in one chapter in such a manner that every Hadith indicates to the title of chapter. In the meantime a useful point appears to him besides the point for which the title of chapter has been made. Then he puts a sign of chapter on that Hadith. Through setting this chapter he does not mean that the subject matter of previous chapter has finished and a totally a new chapter has appeared. But his objective behind the new chapter in this place is tantamount to the word 'attention' (نسيه) or 'useful

¹ - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, chapter 36, part Imam, op cit , p 1/135

² - Ibid, Hadith no 48, p 1/135

³ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit , p 3, Uthmaniyah, op cit , p 2, with Bukhari, op cit , p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari, op cit , p. 89

⁴ - Murjiah A perverse sect who says that disobedients and evil doers are not sin committers and will not be punished in the day of judgement

⁵ - Khawarij A misguided sect who says that great sins committer (murtakib al-kabair) is disbeliever (kafir)

⁶ - Fath al-Bari, pp 1/135-138

⁷ - Umdat al-Qari, op cit , pp 1/ 406, 409-10

note' (فائدة) or 'stop' (قف) and so on.¹ As for example, Imam Bukhari has set up the chapter.² "Allah's speech, He scatters in it (world) every kind of animals"³ in the part of "Begining of creation" (كتاب بدء الخلق). Then after some lines (Hadiths)⁴ he has put a chapter "The best property of Muslim will be sheep (goat), he will bring them (for grazing on top of mountains" (باب خير مال المسلم عم يتبعها شفع الخيال)⁵ Thence he has brought up the Hadith (of chapter) with its chain (*sanad*).⁶ Afterwards he has mentioned the Hadith "Pride and arrogance of the owners of horses."⁷ After these two Hadiths Imam Bukhari has not mentioned any other Hadith in which the sheep (goat) is available. As though, he has wanted to inform that in spite of entering the Hadith into the previous chapter there is an additional benefit in putting it under a new chapter besides the goodness of sheep (goat).⁸

It is worthy of mention here that above said point is the brilliant invention of Shah Waliullah in the relevant subject. Even Hafiz Ibn Hajar did not mention the reasonable cause of this additional chapter. Lastly he stated that this title of chapter had not been found in the transmission of Al-Nasafi (d.294H.)⁹ and it had not been mentioned by Al-Isma'ili (d.371H).¹⁰ So, their transmissions are more suitable to the present circumstances. Because the sheep (goat) is not available in any Hadith except two Hadiths¹¹ mentioned under the chapter directly transmitted from Abu Sa'eed Khudri (R.) and Abu Hurairah (R.) respectively.¹²

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit , pp 3-4, Uthmaniyah, op cit , pp 2-3, with Bukhari, op cit , p.13, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Musalsalat, op cit , p. 89

² - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, chapter, 14, op cit , p 6/399

³ - Surah al-Baqarah, Ayat no 164 "وَبَثَّ فِيهَا مِنْ كُلِّ دَابَّةٍ"

⁴ - After 3 Hadiths, no 3297- 3299, Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, p 6/399-400

⁵ - Ibid, chapter 15, part . Begining of creation, p 6/402

⁶ - Ibid, Hadith no 3300, pp 6/402- 3

⁷ - Ibid, Hadith no, 3301, Chapter and part, same, p 6/403

⁸ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, pp 3-4, 'Uthmaniyah, pp 2-3, with Bukhari, p 13 Tarajim al-Bukhari, p 89

⁹ - Al-Nasafi · Ibrahim bin Ma'qal A famous transmitter of Sahih al-Bukhari

¹⁰ - Al-Isma'ili Abu Bakar Ahmad, a famous trnsmitter of Sahih al-Bukhari

¹¹ - Hadith no 3300, 3301, as mentioned above

¹² - Fath al-Bari, p 6/405

7- Sometimes Imam Bukhari writes the 'chapter' (باب) in place of the speech of *Muhaddithun* "with the same chain" (هذا الاسناد) (the coming Hadith has been narrated) Usually the *Muhaddithun* do this when two Hadiths come with the same chain Whereas they write 'Ha' (ح) ¹ when one Hadith comes with two chains As for example, Imam Bukhari has set up the chapter "Mentioning the angels" (باب ذكر ملائكة) ² Under this chapter he has elongated the speech (mentioned a long Hadith along with many other Hadiths) ³ Then he has narrated the Hadith "Angels keep on descending from and ascending to (the heaven) in turn, some at night and some by daytime" (لثلاثتك يعافون، ملائكة بالليل و ملائكة بالنهار) with the transmitting chain of Shuaib from Abu al-Zinad from al-A'raj from Abu Hurairah (R), ⁴ then he has set up the chapter "When anyone says 'Amin' and angels in the heaven say the same, and the two sayings coincide, all his past sins will be forgiven" (باب - قال حدكم أمين، فوافقت احدهما الاخرى عمر له ما تقدم من ذنبه) ⁵ Then he has transmitted the Hadith "The angels do not enter a house wherein there is a picture" (ان ملائكة لا يدخلن بيوتهم صورهم) ⁶, as well as another Hadiths in which the word 'Amin' is not available, but after a long gape ⁷ (the word *Amin* is found)

¹ - Ha (ح) Abbreviation of Tahwil (تحويل), which means diversion of chain of Hadith

² - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, chapter 6, part Beginning of creation (كتاب بدء الخلق), op cit p 6/348

³ - Sixteen Hadiths have been mentioned, from no 3207 to 3222, ibid, p 6/344-53

⁴ - Hadith no 3223, chapter 6, part Beginning of creation, ibid, p 6/353

⁵ - Ibid, chapter 7, part Beginning of creation, p 6/359

⁶ - There are 4 Hadiths here, no 3224- 3227, chapter 7, part Beginning of creation, ibid, p 6/359-60

⁷ - Claim of Shah Waliullah seems to be wrong, because the word "Amin" is not available in any Hadith mentioned under this chapter Perhaps he is confused by the Hadith "When the Imam during the prayer says, "Allah hears him who praises him, then say O Allah! our Lord, all the praises are for you, for if the saying of anyone of you coincides with the saying of angels, his past sins will be forgiven" (اذا قال الامام سمع الله لمن حمده، فقالوا ربنا لك الحمد، فانه من وافق قوله قول ملائكة، عمر له ما تقدم من ذنبه) (ibid, Hadith no 3228, chapter 7, part Beginning of creation p 6/360)

Actually Imam Bukhari Has narrated the Hadith of Amin "When Anyone says Amin" (اذا قال "احدكم امين، وقالت الملائكة في السماء امين، فوافقت احدهما الاخرى عمر له ما تقدم من ذنبه") in another place not here, with the chain of Abdullah bin Yusuf from Malik from al-A'raj from Abu Hurairah (R) Hadith no 781 chapter 112, (Mant of saying Amin), Part Azan, Bukhari with Fath al-Bari p 2/310

In support of his view the Shah has quoted Al-Isma'ili (d 371H), that he had mentioned (in his transmission of *Sahih al-Bukhari*) "With the same chain" (ومعها الاسناد) in place of "chapter" (باب). As though, Imam Bukhari indicated by the word "chapter" to "with the same chain"¹ Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that Al-Isma'ili had brought up the Hadith "Angels keep on descending", and when he had finished it said, "With the same chain" (ومعها الاسناد) the next Hadith "When anyone of you says *Amin*" had been narrated And he carried on the Hadith with two chains from Abu al-Zinad In view of the above it comes to light that this Hadith: "When anyone of you says *Amin*" (which is the title of chapter also) and other Hadiths followed it the complements of the previous chapter "Mentioning the angels" (باب ذكر الملائكة)²

8- Sometimes Imam Bukhari entitles the chapter with the opinion of 'some peoples' (بعض الناس), or with the view which some of them almost hold or with the Hadith which has not been proved to him (according to his own conditions) He brings up a Hadith (under this kind of chapters) as a document against that opinion or Hadith (with which the chapter has been entitled)³

It is notable here that this point is the excellent invention of Shah Waliullah Probably no one before him mentioned this point

9- In many chapters Imam Bukhari adopts the way of biographers and historians (أهل السير) in inferring the characteristics (حصوصيات) of events and circumstances by dint of indications of the chains of Hadith Sometimes the jurist (*Faqih*) may be astonished by this kind of unknown system (adopted by al-Bukhari), because he did

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit, p 4, Uthmaniyyah, op cit, p 3, with Bukhari op cit, p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Musalsalat, op cit, pp 89-90

² - Fath al-Bari, op cit, p 6/362

³ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, p 4, Uthmaniyyah, pp 3-4, with Bukhari, p 13 Tarajim al-Bukhari with Musalsat, p 90

not practice this subject (*siyar*) Whereas the expert in *siyar* has very much attention to those characteristics¹

It is worthy of mention here that this point also is a brilliant discovery of Shah Waliullah Possibly Shah Waliullah is the first scholar who has drawn the attention to this point

10- Sometimes Imam Bukhari wants to exercise (the science of Hadith and *Iqih*) by mentioning the Hadith according to the required regal question (*mas'alah*), for this purpose he guides the student of Hadith to this kind of method As he has mentioned '*suwa*' (صواع)² in the chapter of "Mentioning the *hannat*" (باب ذكر الحاص)³ Imam Bukhari has distributed huge knowledge in the titles of chapters, like explaining the uncommon hard words (*gharib*) of the Quran and mentioning the speeches of *Sahaba* and *Tabi'in* and many *mu'allaq*⁴ Hadiths⁵

It may be noted here that this kind of title of chapter which includes the word '*hannat*' or '*hinat*' and Hadith includes the word '*suwa*' are not found in the copies of *Sahih al-Bukhari* available in our hands,⁶ although there is a chapter named '*hanut*' (perfume) for dead-body (باب احوص للميت),⁷ but the word is neither '*hannat*' nor '*hinat*' as mentioned by Shah Waliullah Moreover, there is only one

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit , p 4, Uthmaniyah, op cit , p 4, with Bukhari op cit , p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Musalsalat, op cit , p 90

² - Suwa This word is available in Surah Yusuf of the Quran, Ayat no 72, (قَالُوا نَفَقْدَ صَوَاعِ الْمَلِكِ) Imam Bukhari stated that 'Suwa' was the drinking cup which was said 'Makkuk' in Iran, by which which non- Arabian (Persian) used to drink (Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, Part Tafsir, chapter 12, Surah Yusuf, p 8/208) Hafiz Ibn Hajar said that 'Suwa' was the measure and that was 'Makkuk' itself in Persian (Hadiy al-Sari, Muqaddimah Fath al-Bari, op cit , p 154)

³ - Hannat means perfume manufacturer or buyer, or mummifier

⁴ - Mu allaq Chain of which Hadith has not been mentioned See supra, chapter V, section III, p 237

⁵ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, p 5, Uthmaniyah, p 4, with Bukhari, p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhar with Musalsalt, p 90

⁶ - We have used three copies in general, those are Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, op cit , Bukhari with Umdat al-Qari, op cit , and Bukhari included in Mausu at al-Hadith al-Sharif (al-Kutub al-Sittah) op cit

⁷ - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, part Al- Janaiz , chapter 15, p 3/163

Hadith has been set up under this chapter relating to dead-body of a pilgrim for which the Prophet said, "Do not use perfume in that dead-body" (¹ لا تحطوه)

This point also one of the Shah Waliullah's excellent inference regarding the relation among the chapters and Hadiths of *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

11- Sometimes Imam Bukhari mentions the Hadith which itself does not indicate to the title of the chapter, but it has other chains. Some of those chains indicate to the chapter indirectly or generally. Imam Bukhari hints by mentioning the Hadith at the fact that the Hadith has original root, by dint of which that chain would be strengthened. No one except expert in Hadith can be benefited by this kind of systems.² The theme of this point has been mention by Hafiz Ibn Hajar.³

12- Imam Bukhari often entitles the chapter with a clear matter which apparently is little useful but when the researcher meditates deeply finds it very useful As the chapter : "Saying of a person, I have not performed the prayer" (باب قول الرجل ما)⁴ Through this chapter Imam Bukhari refutes indicationally some persons who does not like this kind of sayings.⁵ This point has been mention by Hafiz Ibn Hajar exactly.⁶

13- Many times Imam Bukhari brings the witnesses (*shawahid*) of Hadith infavour of Verses of the Quran as well as witnesses of Verses of Quran in support of

¹ - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, Hadith no 1266, op cit , p 3/163

² - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit , p. 5, 'Uthmaniyah, op cit , p 4, with Bukhari, op cit , p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari, op cit , p 90

³ - Hadiy al-Sari, op cit , p 16

⁴ - Bukhari with Fath al-Bari, part Azan, chapter 26, Hadith no 641, p 2/145 This chapter included the speech of the Prophet (PBUH) and the saying of 'Umar Faruq (R) · " I have not performed the prayer" (ما صليتها).

⁵ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, p 5, 'Uthmaniyah, p 5, with Bukhari, p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari, p 90

⁶ - Hadiy al-Sari, p 16

Hadith for strengthening each other or fixing the certain meaning in case of equivocation That is like the speech of *Muhaddith* "The meaning of this common matter is particular or the meaning of this specific matter is general and so on This kind of expressions of Imam Bukhari could not be comprehended without sharp understanding power and attentive mind¹ Hafiz Ibn Hajar mentioned this point with similar words²

¹ - Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari, Nizamiyah, op cit , pp 5-6, Uthmaniyah, op cit , p 5, with Bukhari, op cit , p 13, Tarajim al-Bukhari with Musalsalt, p 91

² - Hadiy al-Sari, op cit , p 15

Conclusion

Shah Waliullah was born in the beginning of eighteenth century (1114H/1703) which was very uneasy, critical and ruinous period for Muslims in all spheres -- political, social, religious, educational etc. He lived in age when Muslim society and the government were heading towards decline.

Shah Waliullah Dihlawi was an unparalleled Islamic scholar, thinker and reformer in Indian sub-continent. He spent the whole of his life in the service of religion and education and worked for the interest of Muslim-society. His sole anxiety all the time had been to see the Muslims powerful, strong and ruling based upon the Islamic system. He tried all his best to restore the Muslims' power and reform the society and revive the pure religion and establish an accurate and complete Islamic educational system.¹

Shah Waliullah completed his education under his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim (d 1131H/1718) and other scholars in India and served as the teacher in *Rahimiyah Madrasah* which was established by his father in Delhi for twelve years. During this long teaching period he studied deep and widely and taught the students different religious and rational subjects, so he got the opportunity to reflect over a variety of issues. After studying the *fiqh* and *usul* of four *mazhabs* and *Hadiths* from which they deduced those *fiqh* and *usul* and by the divine help his heart became satisfied with the method of jurists who depend on *Hadith* (*Fuqaha Muhaddithin*).²

Then he went to *Hijaz* for *Hajj* and obtaining higher education in *Hadith* and *fiqh* and studied under renowned scholars of different *mazhabs* of Makka and Madina with open heart and clear mind. This made him generous, liberal, tolerable and respectable to

¹ - For details see supra, chapter I section I, II, III pp 1- 28

² - Shah Waliullah, *Al-Juz al-Latif*, op cit, p 27. For details see supra, chapter II section II pp 37-41 section III, p 47

every *Sunni mazhab* and prepared himself for accepting the opinion of every *mazhab* if it was supported by the sound *Hadith*¹ He tried his best to remove the disagreement among the *mazhabs* and conciliate among them according to the sound *Hadith* and called the nation to leave the conventional rigidity and become nearer to each other

Shah Waliullah's *`aqida* was the *`aqida* of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama`ah* and especially that of earlier *Ash`arites* who were according to his opinion very nearer to Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal (d 241H/855) in this matter Shah Waliullah was not pleased with the latest hair-splitter and interpreter *Ash`arites* Shah Waliullah has declared openly his disconnection from any kind of wrong *`aqida* and disassociation from every opinion which emerged in contradiction of the Quran and *Sunnah* and the consensus of earlier pious and *muftahidin* of *Muslim Ummah*²

He was against all sects which are not following the Quran and *Sunnah* directly in the field of *`aqida* and taking stand against *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama`ah*. Shah Waliullah's opinion and arguments are very clear in this matter³

As for *Tasawuf* Shah Waliullah was a reformist *Sufi*, inclining to Naqshbandi order and paying glowing tribute to Junaid al-Baghdadi (d 297H / 910) and his order Shah Waliullah has identified the *Tasawuf* and *suluk* and their knowledge with *ihsan*⁴ and according to him the target of *suluk* is to attain the *ihsan* The Shah has ascribed himself to almost famous *sufi*-orders then he adopted his own order and system, and declared that he was the leader of them in his age According to his opinion the union of all essences (*wahdat al-wujud*) is with universal soul (*nafs kulliya*) not with the Essence of Allah He tried his best to remove the disagreement among the *sufi*-doctrines and conciliate among the *Sufis* For this purpose he said that the

¹ - For details see supra chapter II section II, pp 41-46 and chapter III, section IV, pp 137-57

² - For details see supra, chapter III, section I, pp 88- 100

³ - For details see supra, chapter III, section II, pp 101- 109

⁴ -Ihsan see supra, chapter III, section III, p 110

difference between *wahdat al-wujud* and *wahdat al-shuhud* was merely literal not fundamental¹

Shah Waliullah was a versatile genius and prolific and voluminous writer. As a great scholar, world-renowned thinker, famous reformer, profound theologian, unparalleled *muhaddith*, high-ranked *faqih*, farsighted historian and biographer as well as reformist *sufi* has covered the almost range of Islamic sciences and Muslims' life in his works in Arabic and Persian language²

He was especially recognized as *Muhaddith* and wrote many books on *Hadith* and subjects relating to it as well as he included some valuable articles on this matter in his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*³

The study of *Hadith* was available in Indian sub-continent from the very beginning of Muslim expeditions to this territory and many scholars of *Hadith* arrived in India from other countries and many scholars went to other Muslim countries from India and many centres of the study of *Hadith* had been established in different parts of India. Many works on *Hadith* also had been done by many *Hadith*-scholars. But they could neither establish a complete system, nor adopt time-befitting method and syllabus for *Hadith* study. So their teaching was unsystematical, partial, incomplete and scattered and many times influenced by conventional rigidity⁴

Shah Waliullah has done a revolutionary change in the study of *Hadith*. He introduced excellent method, syllabus and system of teaching of *Hadith*. He took initiative to train the teachers, and run the institution on good discipline, well plan and programme. His teaching of *Hadith* was distinguished by deep thought, completeness and including all mother books of *Hadith* and its science in the syllabus. He adopted the policy of non-conventionalism and non-rigidity in his teaching. His method of study of *Hadith* was to study it as *Hadith* with broad-mind and

¹ - For details see supra chapter III, section III, pp 110-31

² - For details of his works see supra, chapter II, section V, pp 63-87

³ - See supra, chapter II, section V, pp 66-70

⁴ - For details see supra chapter IV, section I, II, III pp 158-190

patience and to prefer one to another according to its soundness aparting from supporting any particular *mazhab*, and respecting all *Sunni mazhabs* and scholars. In his teachings and writings he used all kinds of references of all *mazhabs* and acquainted the students and readers of Indian sub-continent with them and tried to make their mind broad and eyes farsighted. He took the study of Hadith out of the prevailing classical system and made it dynamic, vital and active.¹

Shah Waliullah's endeavour to propagate Hadith through revival of its teaching and writing monumental works on the subject, set afoot the process of Islamic revival in the Indian sub-continent or rather in the whole Islamic world during the present era (which begins by the middle of the twelfth century of *Hyra* and continues to the present day). It was such a great achievement that overshadowed all of his literary and intellectual attainments, and he came to be known as *Muhaddith Dihlawi*, which really became an adjunct to his name.

Shah Waliullah as a great *muhaddith*, *faqih* and scholar of science of Hadith (*usul al-Hadith* or *'ulum al-Hadith*) has discussed on the position of Hadith in Islamic *Shari'ah* and given his verdict on this controversial and complicated matter with full confidence and bravery² as well as discussed on various terminologies (*mustalahat*) relating to the science of Hadith and has given his own opinion on its many points scholarly.³

Shah Waliullah as a world renowned scholar of Hadith has studied almost books of Hadith, its science and biographies of transmitters of Hadith and then classified the books of Hadith on a scientific way and has given the examples for every class as well as presented his valuable opinion on every category. This is a very difficult, hair-splitting and painstaking work has been done by this Indian *muhaddith*, Shah Waliullah.⁴

¹ - For details see supra, chapter II, section III, pp 47-53, and chapter IV, section IV, pp 191-193.

² - For details see supra, chapter V, section I, pp 198-206.

³ - For details see supra, chapter V, section II, pp 207-224.

⁴ - For details see supra, chapter V, section III, pp 225-255.

It is generally said that Shah Waliullah had preferred the *Muwatta* to *Sahih al-Bukhari*. But this opinion is not right, the fact is that Shah Waliullah has mentioned three books on Hadith-- the *Muwatta*, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Muslim* in the first category, and started with the *Muwatta* because of its seniority in compiling age. He placed every book of first category in its own position without preference.¹ It is right that he has paid glowing tribute and especial attention to the *Muwatta*.

Shah Waliullah did not mention *Sunan Ibn Majah* in the chapter of Categories of Books on Hadith (طقات كتب الحديث) of his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* but he did not exclude it from the basic books on Hadith. He has mentioned it in another places of *Hujjatullah* as well as in the introduction of his *Al-Musauwa* and *Musaffa* and recognized it as a basic book on Hadith.²

Shah Waliullah's most important works on Hadith are *Al-Musauwa Sharh al-Muwatta* in Arabic, *Musaffa Sharh Muwatta* in Persian and *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari*. Shah Waliullah has done his explanation of the *Muwatta* based upon the transmission of Yahya bin Yahya al-Masmudi (d.234H./849) He has rearranged and rechapterized it according to his own thinking and added with the chapters and Hadiths suitable *Ayats* of the holy Quran as it has been done by Imam Bukhari (d.256H./870) in *Sahih al-Bukhari*.³

In his *Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* Shah Waliullah has discussed on the most difficult and subtle matters of the science of Hadith. As he studied minutely Imam Bukhari's adopted system in his *Al-Jami' al-Sahih*, his method of chapterization, as well as meaning of those chapters and the relation among the chapters and Hadiths placed under them.

¹- For details see supra, chapter V, Section III, pp 231, 234, and chapter VI, section I/A, p 256-269

²- For details, see supra, chapter V, section III, pp 242- 47

³-For details see supra, chapter VI, section I/B & C, pp 270- 275

Shah Waliullah has successfully and scholarly done this difficult task and tremendous work. It is notable here that he discussed on 24 parts and 359 chapters and mentioned 13 basic points on the method of Imam Bukhari's chapterization. So far we know, no one before Shah Waliullah had discussed on so large number of points relating to relevant subject matter¹

Almost *muhaddithun*, *fuqaha*, Islamic educationists, thinkers and Islamic institutes ascribing to *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah* in Indian sub-continent are benefited from and indebted to and linked with Shah Waliullah directly or indirectly. The most important and valuable *sanad* (chain of transmission) of Hadith in Indian sub-continent and which has been recognized by the world is the *sanad* of Shah Waliullah.

Although almost Islamic educationists and institutes are benefited and influenced by Shah Waliullah and they are claiming this also but the real followers of his thought are rare. On the whole, no direct, systematic and brave initiative has been taken by any person or any organization or any institute to carry out his complete thought and total mission, although partial and scattered services have been offered from different angles². Their contributions in this regard are highly appreciated.

There are many peoples who claim that they are the exact followers of Shah Waliullah but they are remaining on their own stands originally and attempting to bring Shah Waliullah to their own thought, and whenever any thought or statement of the Shah comes before them against their own thought, unfortunately they are trying to interpret or avoid or reject it.

¹ - For details see *supra*, chapter VI, section II, pp 276-291

² - It is a gladdening tidings for the researchers that the Department of Islamic Studies of Aligarh Muslim University recently has opened Shah Waliullah Research Cell which may fulfill the academic demands relating to Shah Waliullah by the grace of Allah.

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